

COUNTDOWN TO THE CUP FINAL

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MAY 31, 1993 \$2.50



Maclean's

WHO

Why 'National Day Care' Is Dead



CARES?

Parents Seek Their Own Solutions



A Line For The Times

In Ivan Reitman's hit movie *Dave*, one of the biggest laughs comes when an imposter-president in the Oval Office (Kevin Kline) asks his buddy, a bodyguard, to help him out the back and restore a pet project of the First Lady (Shirley Maeser). The accountant, played by Charles Grodin, takes out

look and exclaims: "Who does these books anyway? If I ran my business this way, I'd be outta business." It's a line old and true, the times, capturing a popular sentiment that almost anyone can do a better job of running governments than the people running governments. It is a conclusion that Madison tracked in the Jan. 4 issue, which featured the most unusual survey of the Canadian psyche: the favorite politician in Canada was NUNE OF THE ABOVE (50 per cent) and 73 per cent of respondents said that their faith in politicians had declined.

The problem is that popular sentiment about political life may be 100-per-cent misguided. The overly mood of citizens might just be ensuring that the best and brightest are staying out of the political arena. Pollster Allan Gregg, who conducts the annual Maclean's survey, sums up the prevailing assumption: "Politicians are crooks, not to be trusted." But, he argues, we may be creating a political system at far and by the side and we're do-ers. Says Gregg: "We make the

price of political participation too high a premium to pay for the most talented people in society."

Try leadership candidate, Kim Campbell, got into hot water last week with a variation on that very point. In an old quote from *Maclean's* magazine recycled by reporters, she expressed frustration with "people who boast about how they've never been involved in a political party." She asked: "Who do they think is working to keep the society intact so they can have the luxury of sitting back and being such condescending s---? To hell with them?"

Her words might have been, if I haven't said she spoke the truth. People need to get involved. But the irony is as how many business leaders are going to step forward, take a big pay cut and watch its salaries, and below there in senior levels of the private sector are attacked? What teacher or social worker is going to run for office, and court accusations that they are crooks or sleazebags? There is no doubt that the political process has let the people down, that too many citizens are out of touch, convinced as poorly represented. But a little more understanding and charity directed at public men and women would go a long way towards making the system better for everyone. After all, we get the politicians we deserve.

Robert Lewis

Maclean's

CANADA'S NEXT PERSPECTIVE

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LETTERS

Kim who?

So, "charisma without substance is a dangerous thing," Declerke Minister Kim Campbell said at 881 Vander Zalm C. The real Kim Campbell? Cover May 12) Ah, Kim, perhaps it takes one to know one.

Jon Michael Skowron,
Winnipeg, Lake, Yukon

For the record, these are the real facts concerning "Gloxy," the second wife of George Campbell, father of Kim Campbell. My sister, Ginny, met George Campbell in 1960, married him in February, 1962, and amicably divorced him in 1980. Ginny should be very much a part of the Campbell biography and there is no reason for her not to be discussed. She is the former Virginia Vessey, from Clarkstown, one of seven children of a very respected family. Her marriage to George could be considered a May-December affair, so that she was 21 years old when they married and he was 42 years old, much like Kim's marriage to Brian (Dorothy) Vessey, no happy married and living in sunny California.

Sherry A. (Vessey) Skolik,
Calgary

I must dispute the contention that the government of Canada does not support the AKON project in British Columbia. We have been and remain highly supportive of this important science project. Once AKON is built it is estimated that foreign scientists will own over two-thirds of the researchers using the facility. In exchange for this income, foreign contributions of one-third of the facility's capital cost are both reasonable and sustainable. We have been actively seeking to limit the strong foreign interest in these scientific projects. The international revolution, competition from other international science projects and time-consuming foreign decision-making have lengthened this process. However, prudent dictates that we not wait to have solid international commitments before beginning construction.

Tom Macdon,
Minister for Science,
Ottawa

Reform's reforms

Your article on "Squeezing Ottawa" (Awards, May 18) awarded the acronym, "The Reform party leader proposes to save \$20 billion by such measures as decreasing equalization payments and making cost-sharing programs such as the Canada



Campbell: "charisma without substance is a dangerous thing"

Pension Plan self-sustaining." What the Reform party has proposed is achieving savings of \$3 billion over three years through reform of federal transfer payments, mainly through reform of transfers to individuals. Only \$750 million of this is achieved through reducing equalization payments to provinces. Another \$750 million is achieved through reform of the Canada Assistance Plan (social welfare), \$4 billion through making unemployment insurance self-sustaining and reducing federal support and \$3.5 billion through reducing Old Age Security payments on households whose income is below the national average income of \$24,800. If the media are going to fixate "speedies" on the subject of deficit reduction, surely it is incumbent upon you to report those specifics accurately when they are given.

Proton Manning,
Leader, Reform Party of Canada,
Calgary

'Closer to home'

Being a Canadian who is currently serving with the United Nations in Croatia, your cover story "Our game" (April 28) brings us all a bit closer to home. Even though our minds are either on our duty here or on our loved ones at home, we still make the time to find out the scores as all the playoff games and argue about whether or not the Leafs will win the Cup. Let's hope the game that is truly ours flourishes.

Sgt. H. J. Grogan,
Durham, Croatia

Days of horror

Prof. Irving Abella is mistaken when he writes that the pogroms in the Warsaw Ghetto (April 19 to May 26, 1943) lasted longer than it took Germany to defeat Poland ("Bearing witness," World, May 26). The German assault lasted one week longer, from Sept. 1, 1939, until the defeat of the Polish army in the Battle of Kock on Oct. 6, Abella also fails to mention that the Polish underground provided arms to the Jewish fighters and took part in many assaults on German positions.

Levi Malkin,
Scarborough, Ont.

Celebrating success

There is no brain for your bold, dispensing statement that Calt Corp.'s CEO, Gerald Posner, has "stumbled again" ("Renew engagements," Business, May 2). In the four years since he has been at the head of Calt, sales have increased tenfold, and a money-losing healthcare performer has been turned into a strong, consistent money-maker. It is hard to understand why you focused on a temporary reduction in the initial price of shares, which had more than tripled during the past year. As a Canadian, I am troubled by your willingness to discredit business leaders Canada will only achieve its true potential when our institutions learn to trust entrepreneurs and celebrate success.

Walter Rossman,
President, Calt Corp.,
Mississauga, Ont.

Letters may be condensed. Please supply correct address and daytime telephone. Photo Letters to the Editor: Ricki's response, Business (March 26); 277 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7. Order: 543-0101/1100.

"In the beer business you have to understand the importance of being 'well served.'"



**That's why
Mark Hamelin
switched
back to Bell.**

Mark Hamelin's Custom Beer Bottling Systems of Hamilton, Ontario depends on both facsimile service and long distance calling to keep business running smoothly. But they also thought a reseller would save them money. However, Mark encountered a couple of unexpected problems and conditions. The reseller had promised long distance savings but his first bill did not reflect that, and the format was confusing. He also needed a reliable fax service to contact his 48 locations economically and needed separate fax billing for audit reasons. This reseller could not accommodate these needs.

Mark spoke with Bell Canada and a plan was recommended.

Advantage's long distance savings and FaxCom's facsimile savings satisfied Mark's wish to economize, while clear, separate fax bills saved him any frustration with the auditors.

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OPENING NOTES

LAW, ORDER AND VOTES



After dough on criminals and politicians

Just as media before a leadership convention and with its election rejected next year, the Conservative government has backed its legislative deck with bills designed to please voters. The pre-election run is tough on criminals—and politicians. Justice Minister Jean Chrétien recently promised a law that would expose stiff prison terms on child pornography, and in April he tabled a long-awaited anti-stalking bill. Now, Solicitor General Doug Lewis is pulling the finishing touches on legislation that would toughen sentencing for high-risk repeat offenders. Beyond those measures, Treasury Board President Gilles Lusselle plans to address another popular concern: "perpetrators." Lusselle has appointed a team of outside consultants to review the role of public defence lawyers that VPs are called to collect after six years in office. To some observers, the recent flurry of water-tight measures, most of which stand little chance of clearing Parliament this year, is no coincidence. Referring to the child pornography bill, Liberal justice critic Rosalind MacLellan noted that there had been repeated calls for such a bill since the Tories came into power in 1984. "This is a pre-election show case," MacLellan said. "They'll get it all this legislation done, get through it, then just leave the opposition."



Wealthy dollar businessmen Ross Perot is a staunch opponent of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement—or this again, maybe not. That depends on which Ross Perot is talking. Perot Sr., 62, self-appointed watchdog of the Clinton administration and former presidential candidate, at Perot Jr., 34, who manages much of the family business, including its 1995 will have jointly appear west of Dallas.

WORD FOR WORD A chip off the bloc

"The first rule of war is don't shoot your wife. Our trade agreements, including this one, violate that rule. We consistently cheat ourselves... What we've got is a bad agreement."

—Ross Perot Sr., speaking to the U.S. Senate hearing committee, April 22, 1993

"The free trade agreement will benefit the United States economy, by expanding trade opportunities, lowering prices, increasing competition and improving the ability of U.S. companies to exploit economies of scale."

—Ross Perot Jr., in a recent appearance in the U.S. commerce department chair that the first export he designated a free trade zone.

Good for what ails you, too

From Your Good Health. By Dr. K. A. Masary a French homeopathic wine controls that wine can be used as a moderate—a natural supplement in the remedy of common ailments.

Diagnosis	Treatment
Chronic problems	Champagne/Pouilly-Fuissé Rich in magnesium and potassium which strengthens heart muscles and slow down of the circulatory system.
Constipation	Angus/Vouvray (sweet wine) Stimulates gut muscles into pushing bile and loose the bowels.
Kidney stones	Greys/Hopville (from Sauvage) Dissolve half a bottle a day about between meals, over a period of two weeks.
Flu	Bordeaux Full of minerals. Take only in moderation.
Rheumatoid arthritis	Blanc de Blanc or Sylvaner Sick are diuretics, which help the body expel toxins that contribute to arthritis.
Cellulite	Muscadet A low-alcohol wine that aids digestion after a meal. Helping to break down fats.

* Dr. Masary on water "an unfortunate error to hate, and a pure dietary error as well as one of the causes of hypertension. A physiological need to the distilled water drinker (NY) may encourage a tendency to potassium and ascorbic acid."

'Another doughnut, Sgt. Preston?'

The men and women of the RCMP determined, indefatigable. Well, most of them. Over a two-year period that ended last August, the force tested 1,000 members in a physical ability requirement evaluation, or PARE. The exam included jumping obstacles, climbing steps, leaping across a 6-ft-a-foot gap and heaving an 80-lb. sandbag for 50 feet, all in under four minutes. The PARE scores will come as good news to fleet-footed criminals: of the 1,000 Mounties who took the test, almost 300 failed. They face a challenge from RCMP director of health services Alan Trotter, but others got off with impunity. One-third of those asked to participate failed, claimed that they were too busy or obtained medical exemptions from their doctors. "We prefer are asked to take a physical test, they'd rather not," Trotter said. "That's human nature." If the PARE test becomes a requirement for employment, he added, the force will use its own medical staff to approve exemptions. The PARE-still may have to do pushups.



POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to boxoffice receipts during the seven days ending on May 6 (in brackets: number of screens/theatre showing)

1. <i>Dropin: The Green Car Story</i> (247/7).....\$254,188	6. <i>Indecent Proposal</i> (128/7).....\$220,700
2. <i>Dropin</i> (247/7).....\$245,400	7. <i>Face/Off</i> (75/7).....\$221,600
3. <i>Dropin & Jane</i> (175/7).....\$203,590	8. <i>Indian Summer</i> (95/7).....\$213,710
4. <i>Lost in Space</i> (95/7).....\$202,900	9. <i>Much Ado About Nothing</i> (127/7).....\$183,800
5. <i>Sublime</i> (127/7).....\$204,000	10. <i>The Dying Game</i> (146/7).....\$183,500

Winter green in Lillehammer

Nowhere has a better way to ensure that the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer next February are the most ecologically friendly ever, organizers are making a record-breaking attempt to reduce the Games' huge energy demands and the mountains of trash left behind. In co-operation with organizers, Coca-Cola will provide its soft drinks in recycled paper cups and advertise on wooden signs rather than using energy-guzzling neon. As well, snack items will serve food on edible plates—even the cutlery will be digestible. Most surprising find the potato-starch dishes biodegradable and dry. But, says Games representative Katherine Kelling, the trash will be fed to local pigs, who should find it quite delicious.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *Headhunter*, Timothy Flaherty (3)
2. *The Olsen*, John Grisham (3)
3. *Get-Joe*, James Carroll (3)
4. *A Suitable Boy*, Vikram Seth (3)
5. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Waller (2)
6. *Trying to Run Pappy*, Robert Waller (2)
7. *Powering Out*, Jack Vance
8. *The English Patient*, Michael Ondaatje (2)
9. *"If I Were Judgmental"*, Sue Griffin (2)
10. *In Other Words*, David Shields (1)

1. *Jonathan Lee*, David Shields

NONFICTION

1. *The Women Who Run With the Wolves*, Clarissa Pinkola Estés (3)
2. *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*, Paul Kennedy (3)
3. *Working Smart*, Paula Park (2)
4. *Beating the Street*, Paul Park (2)
5. *Systems of Survival*, John Galsbolter (2)
6. *Post-Capitalist Society*, Peter Dinkler
7. *Phages of Abolition*, Leonard White
8. *Emancipation*, Peter Dinkler
9. *Healing and the Mind*, David Shields (2)
10. *Culture of Commerce*, Peter Dinkler (2)

PASSAGES

APPOINTED: Canadian Affairs Minister Joe Clark, as special United Nations representative for Cyprus, a delicate position, by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Clark was scheduled to meet this week at UN headquarters in New York City with Cypriot President Glafos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash. A spokesman said that Clark will retain his position in cabinet until Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's re-election on June 13. Since 1984, Canadian troops have served with the UN peacekeeping force in the historically troubled island to help bring peace between the Greek and Turkish communities. But former UN Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall announced in December that Canada would withdraw its contingent in June.

NAMED: As U.S. ambassador to Canada, former Michigan governor James Bligh, 50. The position has been vacant since former ambassador Peter Frezza left in February. As former head of a manufacturing giant based on Canada, Bligh has experienced in several bilateral cross-border issues, including the Free Trade Agreement (which he opposed) and Great Lakes pollution. His official appointment is not expected for several months while he undergoes various background checks and a Senate confirmation process.

RECOVERING: Syndicated Toronto Star columnist and longtime Conservative strategist Dallas Camp, 72, from a heart bypass at the Ontario Heart Institute in Williamstown, Nova Scotia, after a year of the midlife and a Taser seizure, led the team that performed the operation on the former adviser to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

AWARDED: To country singer Sherrill's Teen Center, 37, an honorary doctorate of laws from St. Thomas University in Fredericton, N.B., the province where he was born. His classic songs include *Back of the Spade* and *Big Joe's Highway*. Because of his trademark rhythmic beat-making at wooden pianos when he sings, the university's choral suggested that he receive an award from the Canadian Academy of Musicians "for special devotion to their product."



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XV Jeux du Commonwealth

Victoria, British Columbia
August 18-28, 1994

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The Globe & Mail
Three-E Training Inc.
Zions-Continet
Zions Bakery
Victoria Mobile Radio Ltd.
Western Telecom Retail
Tues Canada Ltd.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

COLUMN



A new attack on freedom of speech

BY DIANE FRANCIS

Canada, unlike the bunch to the south who threw the lot into the barrel, rarely seems to get excited when their political system fails to uphold freedoms. Fortunately for all of us, David Semeriville and The National Citizens Coalition are different. They are fanatic about recently approved amendments by Parliament to the Canada Elections Act that clearly limit individual freedoms in this country.

Believe it or not, Section 224 of Bill C-114, passed in April, introduces surprising criteria for up to five years of duty independent if spent more than \$1,000 during an election campaign to directly promote or oppose a party or candidate. Billed as electoral reform, there are nothing more than thinly disguised censorship measures designed to limit campaign spending through political parties only. As such, the bill should be struck down immediately.

Coalition director Semeriville has said and so May 31, an Alberta court will be asked to restrict the amendments on the basis that they transgress the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. And they blatantly do. It is a second step law aimed at curtailing such independent interests in the coalition. Many, including Semeriville's organization, rely on newspaper advertisements, press releases and leaflets to campaign for changes in economic and social policies. Semeriville's group, which champions conservative causes, is primarily funded through donations.

In a news release on the amendments, the coalition noted that the law passed three readings in the House of Commons "after only 15 minutes of debate just before the Prime Minister gave a two-week Easter holiday. The bill was supported by the Liberals, the Progressive Conservatives and by the New Democratic Party."

The all-party support for the "elections" contained amendments on the basis that they were needed to stop elections from being

Limiting election spending is nothing more than a thinly disguised censorship measure that should be quickly struck down

"bought." Such a notion is rubbish. Ironically, one of the coalition's key founders and original donors was businessman Stephen Rainald, now dead, who spent record amounts on his own election bids only to be eventually roundly rejected by voters in his riding. Similarly, later actions have given hope. Several support to the New Democratic Party, but have been unable to raise them. Laurence Miller—Bridle is a ministerial national support level of around 30 per cent. Much national newspaper campaigns have also been tentatively swept at charging, or supporting, electoral winners despite the fact that they lay risk by the incumbents. But the mother of all examples is that Semeriville's coalition in the fall of 1992 won the millions of dollars deployed by the Yes forces resulted in a rather resounding No verdict in all but a handful of areas.

Section 224 of Bill C-114 is simply the last attempt to restrict freedom of speech and access out of a steady dose for the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform that disclosed that some people were persuaded by pro-life trade information distributed by third parties. So what? It is precisely the free and open exchange of ideas before the pub-

lic that is the goal of a mature democracy. Does Parliament really believe that money can lubricate credible candidates or that cash can give currency to unpopular or inappropriate ideas?

Besides, the law bans ads that directly name or clearly specific candidates or parties, but would allow advertisements in favor of or against policies. Even so, as Semeriville's law suit cites, these amendments transgress Section 2 of the charter, which guarantees "freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication."

Semeriville's lawyer, Alan Hunter of Code Hunter in Calgary, will argue that these freedoms are transgressed under this legislation. He will also argue that the law infringes on the right to vote because gagging viewpoints removes the right to a truly informed vote.

Most worrisome is that this represents the second time Semeriville has been forced to test the constitutionality of a law in the courts. The first attempt, called C-109, was passed by Prime Minister's Liberal government in 1983 and forbade any election advertising by citizens or groups. Not surprisingly, this law was struck down on June 28, 1984, when an Alberta Court of Queen's Bench judge ruled that limiting independent election expenditures by citizens transgressed freedom of speech under the charter. This time, reformers argue, citizens can spend \$1,000 during an entire campaign. That's enough to buy an advertisement in this rag once or often the site of a postage stamp.

Hopefully, there's little reason to doubt that the second verdict on this latest attack on freedoms will be different. Even if the coalition is successful, the very thing that has had to spend words, and thousands is legal less a evidence enough that large amounts of private money must be mastered at times to combat outlandish politicians and ruthless policies. This case poses the need for groups willing to spend large sums to secure their cause before their cause or before courts, so, if necessary, such activity is essential to a healthy democracy.

Contemplate the worst. If the courts uphold Bill C-114, then the day an election is called, most probably this bill, only journalists and politicians would be free to use the mass media to urge voters to vote for or against candidates. Put another way, this bill would deny non-journalists or non-politicians mass media access during an entire election campaign. That is distinctly unfair in a case where the majority is supposed to rule and a couple of elites.

"The Ottawa political class learned only too late their misreading of the political climate in the 1992 election," says Semeriville in a release. "They must understand that Canadians want to be involved in the political process, not shut out and shut out. I believe the real reason for this law is that the political establishment wants to force citizens to channel their political spending through the parties, rather than speak out independently."

GATHERING DUST

THE TORIES ARE IGNORING INTERNAL PROPOSALS TO SLASH THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT

A chairman-driven timetable tabled on Parliament Hill at noon, ready to whisk John McDermott, the junior minister for finance and portfolio, back to his office five short blocks away, landed, during an hour-long presentation last week to a Senate committee. McDermott defended the Conservative government's decision to save \$5 billion a year by merging 20 Crown agencies that promote Canadian arts and social science research. "Canadians want smaller, less costly government," the minister declared. Flanked by his aides and apparently oblivious to the irony presented by his minister, McDermott complained: "The problem is this: once the government moves to cut in any particular area, the affected parties cry 'Foul! Unfair! Why are you picking on me?'"

McDermott's performance epitomized the message of restraint that Ottawa is trying to preach—but seems unwilling to practice. When it took power in 1984, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney promised to streamline government expenditures. But, while the Conservatives have eliminated or scaled back a wide range of programs and services, the establishment Mulroney leaves next month includes a bloated 25-cabinet cabinet in charge of 32 departments—whose annual budgets range from a high of \$48 billion for Finance to a low of \$76 million for the selective growth's office. And so far, the Prime Minister and his potential successors have given short shrift to a closely guarded internal report—given to Mulroney early last fall but now shelved, at least temporarily—that recommends a drastic reduction of government's top priorities.

That report, written by former secretary of state Robert de Cotret with the help of four former senior civil servants, urges Ottawa to reduce the cabinet to between 18 and 25 members. Among its other recommendations, the report calls for action to slash the number of federal departments by as much as half and to eliminate all but two or three of the cabinet

11 cabinet committees. Those suggestions, along with an accompanying reduction in the 220,000-member federal public service, would effectively return Ottawa to the governing framework of the 1960s.

Called *Structural Reform: A Blueprint for Change*, the 300-page study acknowledges what some observers have often argued: that the government has become a hostage to interest groups. Ottawa must "get away from single-purpose special interest bodies," it says, and return to "a more rational structure of government." Former top-ranking civil servant Gordon Osoblenko, who helped to compile the study, said in an interview: "A 25-member cabinet is not an effective decision-making body. That many people in a room is not a meeting—it's a convention."

Among other things, the report criticizes the way Ottawa handles the administration of government loans. Currently, the responsibility is divided among five major lending

agencies and at least eight departments that provide repayable contributions or loan guarantees under a confusing array of conditions. "The federal government runs a banking operation that is three times the size of the Royal Bank," de Cotret says. "Yet, there are 12 different management and different credit and collection policies. It makes no sense at all."

Another target of criticism is the government's economic development policy, spread across eight departments anxious to hold the chair. Says Tuesday Blvd. president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce: "A business man like that would be bankrupt in two years."

Senior strategy strategists say that Mulroney originally planned to implement many of de Cotret's recommendations in order to demonstrate the party's determination to streamline government decision-making and improve service to the public. But, ultimately, Mulroney balked—and instead merely eliminated two departments

while consolidating another two in a minor shuffle last January.

According to insiders, the Prime Minister did not want to leave others having stripped Tory ministers—of the regions that they represented—of cabinet posts in advance of an impending general election. As well, after government jobs depend on each cabinet post. Explains former Liberal prime minister John Turner: "For every new cabinet minister, you have an infrastructure of deputies and political staff and liaisons." Adds Turner, who appointed a 29-member cabinet during his 3½-month term in 1984: "It's sloppy, but it's jobs for the boys and girls."

Canadians are unlikely to hear much debate about the issue among Tories before the June leadership convention. Although de Cotret has broken them on his proposals, Mulroney's potential successors have so far skirted the subject. During a forum in Calgary on April 24, front-runner Jean Charest and Ron Campbell pledged to reduce the number of ministers by as much as 25 per cent. But each has avoided specifics—perhaps because cabinet jobs are attractive places for supportive MPs.

To many taxpayers, a serious attempt to reform the upper ranks of the cabinet seems federal government's greatest long overdue. To opposition politicians the issue is campaign fodder—particularly among members of the Reform party, which has pledged, if elected, to eliminate seven junior ministers, consolidate two others and drop three senior posts. But if Mulroney's successor as government leader, the task of dismantling a system led for years by patronage and political expediency may well represent a high price.

B. KAZEE FULTON in Ottawa

Canada Notes

MURDER CHARGES

More than three months after they took him into custody, police charged Paul Trudel, also known as Paul Bernier, of St. Catharines, Ont., with two counts of first-degree murder in the brutal deaths of southern Ontario teenagers Brian Ferrell, 15, and Lenka Mulachy, 14. Trudel, 28, who legally changed his name from Bernardo just before his arrest, was also charged with two counts each of kidnapping, forcible confinement and sexual assault and one count of injury to a human body. Heiweiser and his wife, Pauline, 25, who is also charged with two counts of kidnapping, were charged with two counts of kidnapping, forcible confinement and sexual assault and one count of injury to a human body. Heiweiser and his wife, Pauline, 25, who is also charged with two counts of kidnapping, were charged with two counts of kidnapping, forcible confinement and sexual assault and one count of injury to a human body.

GUILTY VERDICT

The first of seven people to be tried in relation to the child sexual abuse scandal at an unheralded bylawing session in Montreal, Que., was found guilty on seven sexual assault, assault and related charges. The 34-year-old woman, whose name could be revealed because she was under 18 at the time of the offences and was tried under the Young Offenders Act, faces a maximum sentence of three years.

THE RIGHT TO DIE

The Supreme Court of Canada reserved judgement in the case of Susan Rodriguez, the Victoria-area woman who wants to have the right to die in a doctor-assisted suicide. Doctors estimate that Rodriguez, who suffers from the fatal degenerative illness known as Lou Gehrig's disease, has a life expectancy of only 35 months.

"A MATTER OF URGENCY"

A draft report by the House of Commons subcommittee on health issues called on Ottawa to act "in a matter of urgency" to inform physicians of Canadians that they may have been exposed to the AIDS virus through blood transfusions. Testing of blood donations for the AIDS virus began in November 1982. In the five years before that, 1.5 million Canadians received blood transfusions, and some experts say that up to 1,200 of them could be infected.

SOLIDARITY NO MORE

Members of the largest Canadian Auto Workers local in Canada, Local 222 in Deltona, Ont., voted overwhelmingly to end their 35-year affiliation with the UAW. The 23,000-member local voted 82 per cent in favor of no longer scaling part of its union dues to the UAW—a move that will cost the party about \$80,000 a year.



The gamble of the long shots

Three backbench MPs claim that they can win the Tory race

They are underdogs in a race that will be determined largely by political trial and financial resources. As candidates wait for the Progressive Conservatives to choose their new leader, and the country's 19th prime minister, almost all of the attention is focused on Defence Minister Jean Campbell and Environment Minister Jean Charest. But three other members of Parliament, all backbenchers, are vying for the job. Although Patrick Boyer, Garth Turner and James Edwards differ strikingly from one another in style, each claims to be confident of defeating the odds. At a minimum, they seek the national prominence that has so far eluded them. Said Turner, who represents the Toronto-area riding of Willowdale: "I want to win and I am ready for the job. But winning is a fairly narrow probability for raising."

Their campaigns are markedly different from those of the two cabinet ministers. In Campbell and Charest's minds, these are the first points of strategy with veteran advisers as the back seats of chartered limousines. Their lesser-known rivals rely on friends and relatives to drive them from one campaign stop to the next in private cars or rented vehicles. And while Campbell can afford to rent his own small plane for winter visits, candidates such as Edwards work on frequent flyer points for such an essential facility. Boyer, the MP for Toronto-Lakeshore riding, acknowledged: "You miss meals and you go to something on the rim. You try to figure out if there is any reward other than you can wait."

The Conservative party has set a spending limit of \$60,000 for each candidate. While the front runners may be slightly constrained by the backbenchers' request to stay below that level, the other candidates can only dream of budgets that large. For Turner, 44,



PATRICK BOYER

- Would freeze government spending and conduct case-by-case reviews of all programs.
- Aims to eliminate provincial budgets, developing a common Canadian budget for all levels of government.
- Would abolish federal transfer payments, now approximately \$125 billion, to the provinces.
- Favors medicare user fees.
- Supports greater use of referendums and free House of Commons votes.

a millionaire real-estate investor who preaches a free market, the \$60,000 mark represents almost 10 times the amount that he has raised for his campaign. Edwards, 56, expects to spend about \$50,000, much of which has already been raised. Boyer, 44, has lowered his expected spending since the

leadership race began— from \$450,000 to \$200,000. Said Boyer: "People in my riding scenario need no \$50. That means a lot."

With money tight, the three men are concentrating on a shortlist. Turner's campaign headquarters are based in a formerly vacant storefront in Georgetown, near Toronto.

But because it is staffed by volunteers who work mainly in the evening, only an answering machine sends daytime calls. Turner himself has installed a toll-free 1-800 line in his home and has included the number on his campaign literature—all of which is printed in black-and-white. His staff say that they have as idea how much the line will cost, but it is certain to be far cheaper than paying for a newspaper advertisement each week. George Pinnowich, Turner's campaign director, said: "The only goal you tell us is to get people who don't really talk long." When Pinnowich flew to

Calgary for a recent Friday-night leadership debate, he watched as the Campbell and Charest campaign workers left town on Saturday morning. Pinnowich stayed over until Sunday, which allowed him to qualify for a cheaper airport.

Edwards has a stern look for losing candidates who emerged. Liberal party president Donald Johnston, for one, emerged from the 1985 Liberal leadership convention with \$300,000 in debts. He had to submit to two political rallies and perform a piano recital to repay the money. "It was an agonizing period for me," Johnston recalled. "I wouldn't want to live through that again."

The threat of debt has clearly influenced some of the Tory campaigns. When he lost a Calgary radio station earlier this month, Boyer was accompanied by his cousin, who lives in the area and was acting as driver that day, and a single campaign worker from Toronto. What he Campbell to the same station on the previous day offered a stark contrast. Boyer's aide David Iannone said: "The host of the show said that a day earlier they couldn't agree with the number of callers and happened to be mistaken."

While Boyer, Turner and Edwards have lined up relatively few committed delegates for the June leadership convention, each appeals to a particular element in the party. Among traditionalists, Edwards, a former radio journalist, represents a connection back with the past as he pushes for tougher policies against criminals and fiscal restraint. Boyer, a lawyer who has written nine books about public policy and who advocates sweeping parliamentary reforms, appeals to those who want tight government controls. And Turner, always ready to flash a chart or a 1-800 telephone number during public appearances, has captured the imagination of those whose primary focus is on cutting the deficit. "It is very important to see people like him in the race," Iannone says. "Whoever wins is going to have to look at these candidates and their ideas," declared Turner supporter Ken McLean, 50, of Kingston, Ont.

But to the dismay of Boyer and Turner, few members of the Tory establishment are enthusiastic about their campaigns. While Edwards has won the endorsement of 35 MPs and five senators, Boyer and Turner have seen once-enthusiastic colleagues cast their lots with one of the front runners. Said Donald Nayle, 66, Turner's rival, associate vice president: "Garth has been very successful and that has not always been kindly received by others in caucus." Boyer said that he was crushed when two other MPs, who had encouraged him to run, were named to the front-runner's camp with the bulk of the party's cabinet pick. "The low part is to see that people who had encouraged me to come forward are not there," he said. A third MP, Michael Oakes, told Boyer: "You've got too many ideas and you're writing too many books."

So far, Turner and Boyer have each won



JIM EDWARDS

- Opposes medicare user fees.
- Promises to erase the deficit in four years, starting with an immediate \$10 billion in spending cuts.
- Would send young offenders accused of murder to adult court.
- Favors a free House of Commons vote on capital punishment and nonmedical abortion.
- Supports tax rebate for donations to the arts, similar to those now available for donations to political parties.

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

only a handful of the 3,800 or so delegates expected at the June 9 to 12 convention in Ottawa. Edwards claims to have more than 200 votes, an impressive number for a previously little-known backbencher, but nowhere near a majority. As experienced campaigners helped Charest and Campbell secure the support of hundreds of delegates in rallies across the country, the underdog candidates found themselves fighting hard and for a second, independent candidate, declared Boyer: "People who have the most money and the toughest opponents are the ones who lose more."

For him, being discouraged at their poor showing in the campaign workers for Boyer, Turner and Edwards all claim to be confident of arrest support among the delegates. Iannone says that many delegates have only pretended to support Campbell or Charest so that they could secure a seat at the convention. He and other campaign workers hope to win over these delegates once they reach Ottawa and can see and hear the candidates firsthand.

Turner, in particular, says he has been slightly bothered by what he calls the media's spotty coverage of his campaign. When a Montreal reporter asked for the opportunity to observe Turner in work, Iannone called on his 1-800 line, he finally replied, saying that the magazine's coverage of him to that point had been excellent. Boyer added: "I think the press have been incredibly cruel to this man. They have ignored the statistics and the policy guidelines that he has been articulating about."

In some respects, however, the glare of the media has been unwelcome. Once their candidates were announced, Boyer and Turner in particular were struck by the cloak of anonymity afforded to backbenchers. The campaign has given them as much as a total response—but it has also drawn attention to their shortcomings. "I think one of the things that bothers a lot of people around my campaign is that I talk to delegates but I don't—so they say in the introduction of the site," acknowledged Boyer. As for Turner, Liberal MP Don Boudreau, who has worked on committees with him, criticized the former's series of his colorful colloquies. "As he is getting into the leadership, he is carrying those things a little further and his shortcomings are a little more obvious."

With little time left in the race, Boyer, Turner and Edwards are preparing heavily for the final challenge. Their performances at the convention will be crucial, say candidates who receive fewer than 20 votes on the first ballot in possibility for both Turner and Boyer will lose his \$50,000 deposit. At the same time, each candidate cherishes the hope that he, like Joe Clark in 1978, will emerge as the surprise winner in a race driven by two better-known backbenchers. Said Turner supporter McLean: "I realize that the odds are against some candidates, but this is Canada. So until the voting is over, anything is possible." In the end, however, the Tory establishment will almost certainly overpower that optimism.

MARCY WOOD AND LANE FISHER in Ottawa

GARTH TURNER

- Would introduce legislation requiring a balanced federal budget within four years.
- Proposes a reform of health care to make it more efficient.
- Would review major government projects, including the \$2.7-billion offshore oilfields and the \$4.4-billion purchase of new military helicopters.
- Would slash peacekeeping activities unless other countries agree to share costs.
- Supports tightening MPs' pension plan so that benefits rise not paid until age 55.



THE TORY RACE

Joe Campbell supported Jean Campbell, and logged Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, in a national August 24th-Sunday News poll. A Conservative Conservative party was invited by 37 per cent of the respondents, against 32 per cent for the Charles Edwards and 31 per cent for the Tories led by Campbell. Polling followed controversy over Campbell's remarks in an interview with *Maclean's* Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman featured in *Maclean's* magazine. Campbell said that other marks took some statements, including those on her year in a convent school, out of context. The *Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops* said that, even in context, it heard some Campbell remarks "offensive."

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"The men still were habits, the man was in Latin and I got confused in English the year I was here. I guess it was a year of waiting off the end of the century or whatever."

—Jean Campbell, quoted by Peter C. Newman in *Maclean's* magazine

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School's out—on strike

B.C. teachers walk off the job over pay

Megan Robson sat contentedly in her studies in her 11-year-old mother, Dana, chatted with friends. But for the afternoon encounter in downtown Vancouver last week was not just an after-school moment on an idyllic spring day. Dana Robson and her friends were among 1,000 Vancouver elementary and high school teachers who, on May 10, went on strike halting classes for 346,000 students. Subsequent walkouts in other B.C. communities have closed classes for as many more. As the dispute entered the end of its second week, 17-year-old Megan was getting a taste of guilt duty. "I can't afford to take her to the woman who usually looks after her, so I've been trying to arrange for family or friends to look after her while I'm on strike," said Robson, who teaches Grades 7 and 8 in Graham Street Elementary. "She's not of her mother, I'm not of mine. The strike has been really disruptive for everybody."



Strikers outside Vancouver school board's headquarters.

Most of all, though, the strike has made life complicated for parents. Typical is Susan Norman, a Vancouver graduate student, who has been on the phone every morning for months trying to arrange playdates and activities for her daughter Charlotte, 8, and son Alexander, 6. Susan Norman: "It's a constant puzzle."

The major sources of friction in the Vancouver dispute are the teachers' demand for an immediate 2.6-per-cent increase in their pay and increased spending on special education programs. While a government-appointed mediator recommended a five-per-cent pay increase over three years and other concessions, school trustees say that the March 20 provincial budget leaves them short of money to pay for the proposed deal. But the Vancouver strike is only one of several across the province. Last week, teachers in Surrey, 30 km to the south, also went on strike, bringing the total number of students without classes in the Lower Mainland to 106,000. Elsewhere, there were teachers' strikes in Kelowna, Port Alberni and the Bulkley Valley.

In the early stages of the disputes, B.C. Labor Minister Mike Sauter insisted pressure to end the strikes. Meanwhile, Education Minister Glen Clark cautioned that the financial pressures are unlikely to disappear. He added, "If anything, we have more challenging budgets coming down the road." For parents and anyone who concerned about children's education, that is a clear warning of more problems—and perhaps walkouts—to come.

BY L. QUINN in Vancouver

To improve health in business there are things you shouldn't skip.

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WORLD

Smelling Victory

DEFYING THE WORLD,
THE SERBIANS IN
BOSNIA ARE NOW
SURE OF SUCCESS

At No. 23 Banja Luka St., the rose bushes are carefully pruned and the blue trees are in full bloom. It could be sweet but for the resentment that the house is barely 150 meters from the front line of a bitter civil war. Banja Luka runs through a Serbian no-man's-land called Vozac and most of its pleasant two-story, detached houses are within easy target range of the newly



ASSIGNMENT
Andrew Phillips in BOSNIA

Muslim fighters on the other side. Pero Kozomirovic, the proud owner of No. 22, laughs through his glasses with the help of a cane. On April 4, a sniper's bullet struck him in the left leg and right arm. Kozomirovic is an official of the Bosnian Serb government and was in uniform when he was shot. But he shrugs off any resentment that he represents an aggressive, brawny Serb. "It's hard to be called traitor," he says. "How can I be an aggressor against my own people?"

Aggressors or not, the Serbs of Bosnia display a self-confidence bordering on arro-

gance last week as they defiantly rejected the United Nations-backed peace plan devised by American Cyrus Vance and Britain's Lord Owen. At a mountain resort with the unlikely name of Heavenly Valley, Serbian leaders announced the unsurprising result of their referendum on the plan: an overwhelming 98 per cent against. The scheme would divide Bosnia into 10 ethnically defined regions, and require the Serbs to return much of the land they now rule to Muslim or Croatian control. But from the busy streets of Vozac to tiny hamlets in the surrounding mountains, the Serbs made it plain that they intend to keep what they hold. With the international community sure to reflect this new to war military muscle to force their back, the Serbs came close to declaring victory in Bosnia's 10-month-old civil war. They are ready to talk peace they said, but only on their own terms.

The Bosnian Serbs' new confidence stems

"Serbian soldiers in Bosnia: 'new we hold the most important cards'"

from much more than the traditional stubbornness that has led them to hard defense at every threat of Western military intervention. It comes from knowing that they are dealing from strength: their soldiers control 70 per cent of Bosnia Hercegovina; their Muslim and Croat opponents are busy killing each other in the south. And the outside world appears finally to have lost its appetite for challenging their gains. Although U.S. warplanes routinely run through the skies above Sarajevo, enforcing the UN no-fly zone over Bosnia, that is likely an air war American involvement will go. In the wake of the Serbs' thumb-down to the Vance-Owen proposals, international diplomacy shifted last week to proposing ways to merely contain the conflict by stationing UN monitors on the borders of Bosnia, rather than rolling back Serbs

from it. That would amount to a victory for the Bosni in Sarajevo—and they were making little effort to dispute their satisfaction. "Right now we hold the most important cards," said Stanka Jakovic, chief aide to the Bosnian Serbs' leader, Radovan Karadzic.

In fact, Karadzic's self-proclaimed Serbian (Croatian) Republic already exercises control over most of Bosnia. It issues its own money and postage, stamps, passports (only a few paper collectible ones have been issued), issues local currencies and has its own internal affairs, the traditional royalist Serbian song *God of Justice*. The government operates a TV network with stations in Pale, near Sarajevo, and Banja Luka to the north (it never once allowing was, appropriately enough, banned in NATO). Its parliament, composed of the 82 Serbian members of the old multiethnic Bosnian assembly, held its 30th meeting last week to hear the official results of the referendum. Serbs has 18 countries located in a converted diesel engine factory in Pale, a wartime site apart of the mountains above Sarajevo. So far, at least, they are a model of law government, the only Serbs civil service consists of only 500 people. Karadzic is kind of pointing out that his republic has more effective authority than the international ally recognized government of Bosnia, which has been reduced to a ruling little more than a series of mutually Muslim enclaves. "The republic of Bosnia Hercegovina is recognized but doesn't exist," he says. "Serbia exists, but is not recognized."

Serbia's shape, a great horseshoe of land breaking around Montenegro and Croatia's territory in central and southern Bosnia, makes communications extremely difficult. Telephone lines have been restored, but land transport must often go through narrow corridors vulnerable to attack. Even traveling the 12 km from Pale to Kozomirovic's style garden in the southern outskirts of Sarajevo meant taking a cautious route past gas pipelines and bus lines constructed out of logs and bits of corrugated iron which overlook the city.

The people of Vozac and Gerbanica, the Serbian-held suburbs of Sarajevo, have adjusted to life in the cold. While the world's attention has focused on the plight of the 300,000 besieged people on the other side of the battle lines, life is difficult and dangerous on the Serbian side as well. The Muslim gunners a few hundred meters away do not have the kind of heavy artillery that Serbian forces have used with such devastating effect in other parts of Sarajevo. But in Vozac, almost every house and apartment building is pockmarked with bullet holes, and local people have become accustomed to negotiating between buildings to avoid being exposed to sniper fire. The Bosnian army shoots its own snipers, which can be fired directly into one's own or one's neighbor's windows, and two children died in a mortar attack one day last week in Gerbanica.

In defense, the Serbs have built walls of sand and bricks to close the gaps between

World Notes

IN FROM THE COLD

On a visit to South Africa, Federal Affairs Minister Markham McDermott said that the world would remain ailing because of financial sanctions against the country as soon as it is a full-fledged democratic election. In Washington, Secretary of State Warren Christopher offered similarly encouraging words, saying that the United States would help South Africa return to the global economy as soon as it formed a transitional council and set a date for national elections.

YES, TO EUROPE

Danes voted 57 per cent to 43 per cent to accept the Maastricht treaty in closer European union, reversing the outcome of a similar referendum last June in which they narrowly rejected the treaty. Since their first vote, Danes were exercising their own voice on the common currency and just defense policies. At the same time, Britain's lower house of Parliament approved a bill to accept the treaty—the first step toward ratification. Britain is the last of the 12 European Community members yet to endorse the pact.

CLINTON'S TAXES

Two key Democratic senators announced their opposition to a proposed 10% excise tax on luxury goods. President Bill Clinton's 1993 budget, which would cut deficit reduction programs in property instead of the new tax, sponsors (Senator) John Chafee of Louisiana and David Boren of Oklahoma, representing oil-and-gas-producing states, proposed spreading cuts in two programs for the elderly, Medicare and Social Security.

BALLLOTS AND BULLETS

The UN military commander in Cambodia, Lt. Gen. John Sanderson of Australia, called for three local elections in launch attacks against the Khmer Rouge to protest polling stations during planned national elections this week. The Khmer Rouge is boycotting the elections and has vowed to disrupt them with violence.

IN HIS DOCK

Venezuela's Supreme Court ruled that President Carlos Andrés Pérez must stand trial on charges of embezzlement and misuse of public funds. The Senate upheld the court decision, suspending Pérez from office while he is tried at the Supreme Court. Pérez, 70, who has served since 1974, was elected after a controversial runoff election taking office for a five-year term in February 1989, maintaining that he is innocent of the charges.

buses and out of airports' sight lines. One of the war's bitter enemies felt that even war cannot stop neighborhood peace: someone has decorated it with pine holiday signs all winter. Half the present population of 20,000 has fled to safety, but those who have

stayed tell her age: 45—born fighting, the national pastimes appear to be smoking, drinking and weeping—and the toll is even higher in the deep lanes on every level.

Last week's intervention was, at surprisingly, a deeply farmed exercise. Bosnia's

and others ever reclaim their houses is over whatever. Along with ethnic cleansing has come linguistic cleansing: the very word "Bosnian" has come to be seen as a symbol of Turkish and Austro-Hungarian aggression and is being eliminated from place names like that of the former city of Bosanski Brod. Other names associated with five centuries of Turkish and then Muslim domination of the region are being snipped away. The town of Donji Vakuf has been renamed Serbski, while Srebrenica is now Kozara. The man in charge of the linguistic purge, Redžović Urošević, director of the Bosnian Serb Institute for the protection of cultural heritage, says that the military will do linguistic "masses which are associated with evil."

Reclaiming can accompany more sinister

force, were banned by the Muslim fighters on themselves, or by Muslim fighters who came from the nearby protected enclave of Sarajevo, where UN Canadian peacekeepers of the Royal 22nd Regiment (the Van Doos) are stationed to ensure that the same rule does not befall that town.

Other Canadian troops must travel through the countryside near Novo Kravice to supply the Van Doos peacekeepers in Srebrenica with food and equipment. On their supply trip last week, they got a first-hand taste of how strong the hatred for Muslims now runs among Serbs. The Canadian convoy of a dozen trucks was delayed at a Serbian checkpoint for four hours by soldiers whose sentences were increased by the presence of three Muslim translators. The Serbs eventually let the van pass, but turned the translators back. On their return trip the next day, the Canadians were delayed again—partly because they had difficulty communicating with the Serbs. "You should have brought a translator," one Serbian soldier told Capt. Alan Gauchier, the Quebec City native who was leading the convoy. "We brought them every day but you wouldn't let them through." Gauchier replied politely. "Yes, but they were Muslims," complained the Serb. "Well, we don't make a distinction among ethnic groups," Gauchier said. That was evidently a novel concept to the Serbian soldier, who loudly complained to his commander when the convoy finally left: "Why should we let them go? They had these damn Turks with them."

For the moment, the Bosnian Serb strategy appears to be simple: do nothing. They hold all the territory they want, and they are content to sit back and watch Muslims and Croats fight it out around Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina. The Croats accuse them is taking publicity, and thus political pressure, away from the Serbs. And they see the stage for an eventual settlement between Muslims and Croats as the parallel Croatian Bosnian state. The Muslims, squeezed in between and with no outside help, are already the Serbs' biggest losers.

Last week, as the Serbs prepared to take the heavily fortified, Kozara ridge it clear that the Croats are dead among the three national groups that are stalling the confining in the territorial pact that has far from now hold. And the West appeared ready to do little more than keep the fire from spreading beyond the boundaries of Bosnia. The Serbs may have stepped out of declaring victory last week, but the outside world seemed prepared to concede

A Troubling Tour Of Duty

From Cyprus to Bosnia, Karamba to Cambodia, Canadian peacekeepers have earned a distinguished reputation as honest brokers in troubled lands. But last week, four members of an elite airborne regiment assigned to bring order to Somalia may have tarnished that record by becoming the first Canadians on peacekeeping duty to face murder charges.



Muslims in Somalia, facing charges.

Master Cpl. Clayton Darrell Matthes, 29, and Pte. Edin Kyle Brown, 34, were accused of second-degree murder and torture in the March 10 beating death of a Somali male prisoner at their outpost in Belet Hays, one other soldiers, Pte. David John Brackelshaw, 24, and Sgt. Mark Allen Boland, 32, were charged with torture and negligent performance of duties. Meanwhile, military police are still investigating the shooting death of another Somali man on March 4. May Barry Armstrong, a military surgeon, and Capt. Brian Ham, claims that the victim was tortured and shot in the back and head while fleeing the compound.

In all, four Somalis have been killed by Canadian soldiers during the peacekeeping operation. The killings have brought the Canadian Airborne Regiment under particularly intense scrutiny, with some critics questioning the wisdom of having sent the crack troops to Somalia. They argue that the peacekeepers are trained for four buggy responses to battlefield situations—training that appears incompatible

with the often more tedious task of peacekeeping, which demands patience and restraint. And some knowledge of the killings because public last month, the 19th-century has been accused of barbaric soldiers with little to white supremacist groups. One soldier, Cpl. Matt McKay, was once a member of the Ku Klux Klan. And Maj. Armstrong has alleged that there was widespread racism among the Canadian troops in Somalia. Some interviews with the soldiers were, William Drouge, 43, leader of the white-supremacist Heritage Front, claimed that there are "a few neo-Nazis in the 601-member regiment based in Petawawa, Ont., but he refused to be more specific. Added Drouge: "There are certain bones in Quebec where there is more interest than at Petawawa." But Cpl. Terry Prochuk, an army psychologist, disagrees. "This matter is just overblown," he said. "The military certainly doesn't have any large group of members with extreme viewpoints."

In April, Defence Minister Kim Campbell set up a special five-member board of inquiry into the Somalia peacekeeping operation. The board will review the preparation, training and, in Campbell's words, the "ethos" of the Canadian Airborne Regiment. After the criminal charges were laid, the military judge advanced general, Brig.-Gen. Pierre Boudre, said "the demands about when, where and if a court martial will be held" should be made within the next six weeks.

Last week, Matthes continued to recover in an Ottawa hospital after allegedly attempting suicide in Somalia. The three other soldiers charged remained in custody in Petawawa, pending their trial. But Canadian and a better look of how a court order in a peacekeeper could impede future humanitarian operations. Referring to Canadian participation in a proposed UN police force for his troubled island, Human Rights Minister Marc Blais accused Ottawa of having sent a "pack of Nazis" to Somalia. Added Blais: "In this type of international force they plan to send to UN?" Prime Minister Brian Mulroney angrily denied the charge, calling Blais a "poor of the military" (his last post was in 1991 cap) but beyond the rhetoric, it is clear that a policy of racism, however unfounded, may make the difficult task of peacekeeping even more so.

ANDREW BELLIS with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

On the brink of war, the world blinked.

endured the past year now to remain

Koristankovic is a 55-year-old Serbian who says he cannot imagine how the outside world got the idea that Serbia are the aggressors in their own country. He says that Serbs, Muslims and Croats got along for decades, the only problems arising from an influx of new Muslim settlers from the south-eastern region of Sandjak over the past 40 years, which made Serbs feel threatened in their own home towns where Muslims were the largest group. Now, he says, mistrust runs so deep that Serbs will never accept any peace plan that involves giving up their own republic. "The 500 years we lived in someone else's state," he said. "We've been second-class citizens in our own country, but now we have the chance to have our own state. We want it to go." For him, the motivation for fighting is obvious. Asked to show a village where the front line is, he cracked, "For me it is both the forest line and the last line, because it's my home."

Thousands of other Serbs who fled Sarajevo and other Muslim-controlled areas provide a constant reminder that the war's viciousness came from all ethnic groups. The old chalets and worker's houses in the mountain towns around the city that once held 415,000 people are full of Serbs who say that they were forced to leave because of discrimination, violence or just a general climate of fear. Milica Vukovic, a 31-year-old accountant, spent 45 years in Sarajevo and endured the first few months of the war there before finally getting out on a Red Cross bus last Nov. 15. She went to stay with her daughter and now lives in Pula, an old town located on the end of the Istrian of great Sarajevo, was good, for such a mixed-up place," she said to her new home, a modest two-story house. "The Communist system suppressed national differences. Then it just exploded God knows why."

"What does that say about the world that who ever restricted themselves as aggressors needed to stick to their own group. In Pula, an electrical engineer from Sarajevo named Miroslav Zivkovic was one of the few who would even express sympathy for Muslims who have been forced to flee their homes during waves of so-called ethnic cleansing in eastern Bosnia. "Of course it's horrible to see Muslims' houses destroyed as well as Serbian houses," he said. "But the only way out for Serbs was to accept the war. The only other choice was to live under a Muslim government."

In other parts of Bosnia, evidence that Serbs have no intention of letting Muslims



Bosnian Serb warlord anti of Srebrenica

to choose to have our own state?

changes. The town of Novo Kravice, a Turkish village near New Srebrenica, is being given a Serbian name that translates as New Serbian Settlement. But for now, it is home to no one. For two kilometers along the road, every house stands empty. Most are burned out, a few show little smoking last week. In mid-April, according to the handful of Serbian soldiers stationed there, Novo Kravice's Muslim population of several hundred "ran away" when Serbs in troops took it over. Now the Serbian soldier, a crew with four Cyrillic 8's standing for the slogan "Only Unity Can Save the Serbs," is divided on almost every building. The houses, a Serbian soldier explained with a straight

A battle royal down under

A former colony's republican surge aims to dethrone its British Queen

Past Kinging has never been one to shy away from a fight. And now, Australia's scrappy Prime Minister, the son of a undertaker from the working-class Sydney suburb of Blacktown, has picked himself a big one. From his first Labor Party's March 13 victory to a knifely fought election battle and continued that his opponents are reeling on the ropes, Keating has freed his rights in another crown. The prize? Nothing less than the transformation of his country, which has deep and historic links to the British throne, into a constitutional monarchy in a republic headed by an Australian president.

While days of boycotting a three-year term, Keating, 48, entered his revolutionary campaign pledge to hold a counterparty referendum on whether the nation should become a republic by 2001, the centenary of the federation of six British colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia. And late last month the Prime Minister announced the formation of the republic advisory committee, a 10-member body of eminent citizens that will report by September on what constitutional changes are required to dethrone the Queen as Australia's head of state. "I think we should start now on the journey," Keating declared in a Sydney speech. "We need to be in every sense, including the symbolic one, our own masters."

The launch of the advisory committee is part of an extended campaign to win bipartisan support for switching to republican status. "This needs to be a bipartisan issue," advisory committee chairman Malcolm Turnbull, a 50-year-old Sydney lawyer and moderate banker, told Macdonald. "Australia used to be a happy part of the British Empire, but the monarchy is buried here now." Keating has appealed to opposition parties to participate in the transition, but they are deeply divided over the issue and some nationalists accuse the Prime Minister of trying to skewer his political rivals with a republican smear. "Whatever his motives, Keating has not written for opposition support to take away their wings. What Michael Lowy, 52, was once in as Keating's attorney general last month, he became the first-ever cabinet minister to make an oath of office that pledges allegiance to the Commonwealth of Australia rather than "Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, her heirs and successors."

For years casting the debate in purely emotional terms, those who have a republican argue that it surely reflects national realities as Australia celebrates the 21st century. "Our land of state should be Australian," said Turnbull. "It is simply an overdue admission of national identity." And the culture of Australia is changing. Under an uncertain "white Australia policy," which was adopted in 1901 and not fully dropped until 1973, the country severely restricted non-white immigration. The result was that until the 1950s, Australians were almost ex-



clusively of Anglo-Celtic origin. Now, although more immigrants still come from Britain than any other single country, the next eight sources for newcomers in 1991-1992 were Asian nations. The government predicts that within the next 25 years, a quarter of the country's population—currently 17.1 million—will be Asian. Australian "Ethnic Australians would rather have symbols that affirmations," said New South Wales state Labor MP Carl Scully, who heads a parliamentary task force on amending certain and legislative references to the Crown. "All the old wedding and betrothal stuff can go."

The republican movement has also been lured by shifting economic conditions. As Australia struggles to emerge from its worst recession since the 1930s—unemployment now stands at 10.7 per cent—Keating hopes to forge even closer partnerships with the booming, nearby Asian economies. In the past, strong ties with Britain were seen as a necessary deterrent to Chinese and Japanese power in the north, especially during

the Second World War. Throughout the Cold War that followed, Australia closely allied itself to the United States as a bulwark against communism. But with Britain leading itself to the European Community and the United States pursuing hemisphere free trade, Australia sees closer ties with Asia as essential to its future prosperity. And Keating reassures that its Asian neighbors do not understand why the British monarch remains Australia's head of state. "Australia will be taken more seriously in global affairs if we are clear about our identity," Keating has argued, pointing out that Asia considers those three words of the country's motto. "I think this is the area in which we live, which is an area of ancient cultures, there'll be a greater willingness to include us in the affairs of the region if we are an independent mind."

Japan, Australia's largest trading partner, accounting for nearly a third of both its total exports and imports, has eagerly embraced those republican sentiments. "A well-balanced, international and Australian Australia is an invaluable friend for Japan," said Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa in Canberra during a visit to the country in late April. "We look forward to working closely together with you." Critics from Japan—which has its own monarchy—contend that the supportive language was an accident. Keating responded by telling with Tokyo its dispute with the United States over closed Japanese markets. "There is no doubt that, politically, Tokyo and Canberra are, at the moment, as close as two bugs in a rug," wrote Greg Sheridan, Sydney editor of the national-daily newspaper, *The Australian*, after the visit.

Cultural links between the two countries are also burgeoning. Tokyo's leading TV radio station, 2TV, recently featured a nine-hour "Kings Australia" special that included such leading Australian pop stars as INXS, Diesel and Wendy Matthews. "I know about beach es, sheep and golf, but I had no idea Australia would have such a high cultural heritage," JFW ex producer Shigeru Sato told the *Sydney Morning Herald* after returning from his trip. "The food is delicious, the fashion very sharp, the social scene so sophisticated. This is no Australian safari in Japan."

Australia too, eagerly reach beyond their borders. "It is only a couple of hours to Asia," says Sydney businessman Ned Wedderburn. "We are not intimidated by Asia. Most Australians are at ease in Asia now, on business and holidays." And Wedderburn, whose 10-year-old daughter, the razor-eyed Australian, is studying Japanese, adds that his country has been heavily attacked by its northern neighbors. "I can't remember when I ate steak and eggs last," he said. "I can't eat lots of rice and noodles."

Still, while national polls consistently indicate that a majority of Australians support the idea of a republic, pockets of fierce resistance re-

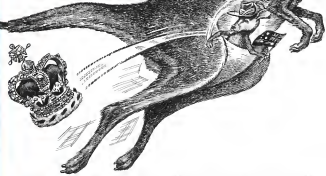
main. Among them are the 250,000-member Returned Services League, a war veterans group, and 3,500-member Australians for Constitutional Monarchy (ACM). "I think the republican movement is a smaller screen for the Labor Party," said ACM chairman David Waddy, an eighth-generation Australian whose father was a war hero and a fighter pilot in the Second World War. "Their motivation is to fundamentally change the balance of power. Canada and Australia already have the best systems. If the system isn't broken, don't fix it."

But the official opposition, a coalition of the Liberal and National parties, is now divided to become the forces of resistance to the republican push. The Liberal Party's platform is officially committed to a constitutional monarchy, but younger Liberals favor severing ties with the Queen. Liberal Party Leader John Howard, who also heads the cabinet, acknowledges that "a hardline monarchist position is out of touch with the realities of Australia today." Howard's challenge: how best to modify his party's historic pro-monarchist stance in the face of the republican surge. "The monarchy is a lost cause for the Liberals," declared republic advisory committee chairman Turnbull, himself a lifetime Liberal. "If the Liberals are seen as the last defenders of the monarchy, it will destroy the party." So far, however, Howard has refused to accept Keating's invitation to appoint one of the 10 members on the committee, calling it a "blatantly political move."

Keating, who has indicated that he favors a ceremonial president elected by Parliament, has also said that he would prefer Australia to become a republic with as little change as possible to the constitution. But the road ahead may well be bumpy. "The republic is inevitable," said Lyle O'Donnoghue, an Aboriginal member of the advisory committee. "But there needs to be constitutional changes to recognize Aboriginal people as past owners of the country, as the first Australians." Last week, Queensland Aboriginal leader Bob Whittell called for a separate referendum for the country's indigenous people.

"If we have a white referendum, there will be non-Aboriginal people determining the destiny and future of Aborigines," he said. "We should be given the chance of deciding whether we would like to have our own autonomous nation." And politicians in conservative Western Australia, who often argue that their state, a bastion of loyal British ancestry, is being economically exploited by miners, have begun to suggest that they, too, should hold a referendum—an argument. If Keating is not careful, what now appears to be a far-polemic contention could well turn into a debate of a broad that he bargained for.

SCOTT SHIFFLE with JUDITH ROSE in Sydney



THE TAXMAN'S BIG BITE

SOARING TAX RATES TEST THE PATIENCE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE STRENGTH OF THE RECOVERY

Michael Caruso is one of the few Ontarians to benefit directly from last week's headline provincial budget. Caruso is president of BactriaPro, a Toronto-based organization that introduces people interested in swapping everything from horses to appliances. The barter of goods and services has become an increasingly popular way to do business in times of falling wages and economic recession. In the past 18 months, membership in Caruso's network of traders has grown to more than 1,000 from 425 and he says that he is expecting another surge of membership because of the budget. "Everything the province does to slow the economy seems to make me plan ahead all the more," says Caruso. Although he emphasizes that members of his network are obliged to pay some taxes, he acknowledges that illegal barter is booming too. Indeed, some economists estimate that the burgeoning Canadian "underground economy" is worth as much as \$500 billion a year, or 10 per cent of national domestic expenditure. As well, more people are taking for extra vacation time or other such non-taxable benefits rather than accepting salary increases or cash bonuses. Said Donald Busco, a professor of public policy at the University of Montreal: "We have reached the point where Canadians are starting to modify their behavior dramatically because of the tax structure."

Although better was over the majority of the rural, agricultural economy, this be-

came an increasingly urban and professional phenomenon. Caruso noted that several print shops, dentists and lawyers were reluctant to accept the notion of barter and their professional organizations thus ostracized the practice. Now, however, he has six dentists on his list of members. The demographic shift in barter has largely resulted because steady increases in taxes and higher taxes at a time of economic recession have driven Canadians to economic crisis. That is especially true in the middle class segment of the population, which has, so far, borne the brunt of higher taxes and fewer deductions. "We're getting more professionals and larger companies on our list all the time," said Caruso. "They are approaching us about doing business now—we're not soliciting them."

Last week, Ontario Treasurer Floyd Leithner further addressed the worries when he announced \$1.6 billion in new tax hikes, the largest single increase in provincial history in a bid to help the deficit, as the \$20-billion budget for 1992-1993 to \$14.2 billion. That is down from \$12 billion on a \$54 billion budget. The previous year. Although Premier Bob Rae's

1991 government introduced a minimum corporate tax for large companies and broadened the sales tax base to include automobile accessories, the bulk of the new revenue will come from dramatically increased personal income taxes. Retrospectively to Jan. 1, Ontarians will pay provincial tax at a rate of 58 per cent of their basic federal income tax, up from 45 per cent. But because collection of that income tax now begins on July 1, it will be 64 per cent for the first six months of this year.

As well, for Ontarians who earn \$50,000 a year or more, a provincial surtax rises on July 1 to 30 per cent of their basic Ontario tax from 14 per cent, on incomes of \$67,000 or more, an additional tax on top pays up to four percentage points to 18 per cent. Said Lawrence Teicher, a tax partner at the accounting firm of Deloitte & Touche in Toronto: "To raise its tax receipts, the government is reclassifying the middle class as wealthy. That couldn't be a less accurate reflection of reality." By week's end, even Premier Bob Rae had publicly pledged not to increase provincial taxes significantly for at least two years.

Just one day after the Ontario budget, Quebec's Finance Minister Gerald Lévesque introduced a budget that included \$1.1 billion in increased taxes, many of them implemented through the elimination of existing tax breaks. Those measures are intended to cut that province's deficit to \$4.2 billion on a \$41-billion budget from \$19 billion on \$38



Ontario public sector workers protest proposed cuts, including layoffs

billion last fiscal year. According to Teicher, the mounting public over public debt and deficit levels—and the pressure from student public-sector union leaders to avoid direct payroll cuts in Ontario—has created a pro-municipal sector effect. While federal tax reforms introduced in 1987 lowered tax rates, broadened the tax base and restricted deductions, he said, this is now being undone at the provincial level. "You have the steady stream of taxes against a backdrop of profit-related deductions," Teicher said. He also noted that income tax was a preferred target for the government in Ontario because it is less direct and it targets the affluent more specifically than overall retail sales tax increases. He added, "When people are already against the wall, it's politically dangerous to add to the daily annals of the tax burden."

Indeed, there is growing concern in several quarters about the burden of government budgets on Canada's core of consumers and small businesses—the middle class. Said Nicole Margas, a professor of public policy at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: "The effects of steadily higher taxation is a disaster for the middle class and a potential disaster for society." According to Margas, the middle class has historically served as a basis of "stability and equity" in democratic society, and its depletion could have dire

consequences. "You can already see the trends to an increase in income," she noted. "It doesn't take that much for the social fabric to crumble."

Although there have been some tax revolts at the local level in British Columbia and New Brunswick recently, several experts say that such movements are aimed to broaden to the same way as those that swept California in 1978 and Britain in 1989 in the case of California, popular protest resulted in a statewide freeze on pay raises, and that still other states. It was only lifted by special legislation in June of 1990.

In Canada, new groups including the Progressive Group for Independent Business and the Vancouver-based Citizens for Fair Taxation have formed specifically to avoid provincial government policies and the impact of their recent budgets. Said Craig Chantler, president of the 160-member Progressive Group for Independent Business: "The other lobbyists all seem well, but the state has come for much more aggressive tactics." He added, "Our group is politically direct—politically correct." But even the more established, 62,000-member Canadian Federation of Independent Business strongly denounced the Ontario budget, despite the government's claims to have left small business unaffected. Said federation president John Dufault: "Small business, and two

TRADE BLOCK

The negotiation of labor and environmental side deals to the North American Free Trade Agreement have reached a stalemate. After visiting Ottawa, trade negotiators for Canada, the United States and Mexico announced that they were deadlocked over Washington's insistence, on a provision for trade sanctions to enforce labor and environmental standards. Although the three-way talks will continue, Canada appears the use of sanctions remains, they could be used to restrict weapons in future.

SHARING THE RITUALISM

Cornish Inc. of Toronto is entitled to \$2.4 billion of the \$30-billion insurance settlement under the World Trade Centre disaster, according to a federal official. Cornish, under court protection from its creditors, will receive 15 per cent of insurance proceeds to be paid following the explosion last May at Plymouth, N.S., that killed 26 miners. The federal government has already paid Cornish's bankers \$81 million to finance an \$80-million loan advance to the project. Ottawa, which agreed to split the insurance proceeds following the state formula in the original loan guarantee, will collect the remaining \$13 million in insurance after Cornish's \$5 million are sorted out in Ontario courts. The firm has until June 30 to find assets from \$20 million in new off-balance-sheet

NOT ENOUGH

In an effort to ward off a trade war, the Ontario government said it was prepared to lift a \$900 \$250-a-week warehouse fee that it charges on imported beer. The fee was placed on imports after the beer had been in Ontario stores in the same batch as domestic cases been spoiled when for the U.S. brewing industry said that the move did not go far enough, adding that the province must also drop its commitment on a minimum price of \$18 for 24 cans and its 10-cent-a-can minimum levy on the five-cent-a-can American can container.

SEEKING CONTROL

Crifank of New York City has asked a U.S. bankruptcy judge to appoint a trustee to liquidate the assets of the U.S. building, The Toronto-based Olympia & York Development Ltd., once the world's largest developer, sought bankruptcy protection last year for its Canadian and U.S. office properties after debt restructuring talks with its bankers deteriorated, but did not seek bankruptcy protection for its U.S. properties.

COMPARING TAXES

Percentage of gross earnings paid in income tax by an "average production worker" in the manufacturing sector, with a dependent wife and two children, in 1991

Country	Percentage paid
France	3.0
Japan	2.4
Germany	8.7
United States	11.3
Canada	12.5
Italy	14.3
United Kingdom	15.5

Includes provincial and state income taxes but not sales or value-added taxes

Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

payors as a whole, shouldn't have to pay for such incompetence."

In his recent book, *The Sinking Point*, American author Kevin Phillips argues that the heavy financial burden borne by an increasingly frustrated middle class in the United States led directly to the populist resurgence that swept Bill Clinton into office and allowed Ross Perot to post a relatively strong third-party performance in last year's presidential election. Phillips also wrote that public debt, interest payments on that debt and "inflation or oppressive taxes" are "a signal of a great-power decline."

Within the broader context of the national economy, the Ontario budget is widely perceived as a drag on a fragile economic recovery. Ontario represents more than 40 per cent of the Canadian economy and last week's provincial budget is expected to slow consumer spending and drive more companies to the United States or lower tax provinces. The Ottawa-based Conference Board of Canada has revised its forecasts for Canadian economic growth in 1993 down to about three per cent from 3.6 per cent. The board also cited the "revisionist nature of the provincial budgets that have been released to date and the pace of the Ontario government's deficit-cutting plan." Meanwhile, economists from Ikonometrics Ltd. of Ottawa, an economic consulting firm, released an analysis of Ontario's budget saying that it included "a high risk to



Levesque: a \$1.1-billion tax increase

Canadian and Ontario economic growth for at least 12 to 18 months."

Although Levesque's opponents to have opposed leaping credit-rating agencies, bond and currency lenders by holding the deficit

at \$9.2 billion for the 1993-1994 fiscal year, compared with a threatened \$17-billion overrun, some experts remain skeptical. Although federal transfer payments are no longer included in the province's projected revenues this year, they do include \$845 million from the proposed sale or refinancing of provincial assets including the Toronto SkyDome, GO Transit trains and singles land. Another fiscal problem for the Ontario government is that the validity of provincial deficit forecasts has historically been shaky. In the 1990-1991 fiscal year, a projected deficit of \$6.6 billion was ultimately revised to \$11.9 billion. In fact, Ontario Liberal Leader Ivo McGee last week accused the NLR of "substantially overestimating" the projected size of the provincial deficit. In partly significant tax increases and to avoid necessary spending cuts, said McGee. "This budget will strangle, not stimulate, the economy."

Another component of the Ontario budget, the corporate minimum tax, has also aroused skepticism in many quarters. When the NLR was passed in 1990, it initially indicated that it was containing rising tax \$1 billion a year by introducing a minimum tax and it established the provincial Fair Tax Commission to examine the issue. Based on the commission's findings, the government has increased its intention to establish a minimum tax for "big business." Starting in 1994, the tax will be phased in over three years, levied at a rate of four per cent of income after other tax and dividends. When fully implemented, it is expected to raise about \$400 million annually. But Ontario's annual revenue from taxes is about \$32 billion, said tax expert Teitelbaum. "This another attempt to create the illusion that the tax burden is being fairly shared," he added. "It's highly complicated and it will be expensive as hell to administer."

Sell, by far the most uncertain element of the budget is the \$2 billion in payroll cuts predicted on the outcome of the so-called social contract negotiations with 450,000 public sector employees. Provincial employees are talking at the proposed elimination of up to 40,000 provincial and municipal government jobs and \$4 billion in spending and program cuts. Although the talks resumed this day after the budget announcement, and NLR negotiations have imposed a deadline of June 4, progress has been slow. Before the budget's release, union officials had strongly advocated that taxes on corporations and on the wealthy should be increased rather than cutting back on public-sector wages. But because the government threatened the Ontario, Selwyn Ryan, for example, president of the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, pronounced the budget and its minimum tax to be "an absolute joke." Few Ontario taxpayers or corporations, however, appeared to be laughing.

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Only a massive crisis can save us

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

There's a disturbing school of thought developing among Canadian business leaders that the only way the country's debt problem will be resolved is through some massive, externally imposed crisis such as the temporary takeover of Canada's prime minister by the International Monetary Fund.

"I don't think you can expect profound change, certainly in North America, in the absence of crisis," I was told recently by Marshall (Mickey) Cohen, the former deputy minister of finance who now heads the Milken Centre. "We have yet to face a crisis in this country, and I don't believe we'll get out of our debt dilemma until we hit the wall—whether that wall is the IMF coming in, a major currency devaluation or something else."

More specifically, Cohen and a growing number of other CEOs who share his uneasiness believe that the problem can no longer be resolved at the margin, by cutting little bits out of various federal and provincial government programs. "That kind of halting progress represents too small a percentage," he insists. "All the flesh is gone, you now have to cut to the bone." This means not just increasing, but actually terminating existing social programs. It seems to me that people in the public sector are now beginning to recognize this, though I'm not sure they're getting ready to act on it. Certainly, Clyde Wells's election on the basis of his tough, cost-cutting platform was very symbolic. Bob Rae is doing things in Ontario that have to be done, and probably can only be done by an NDP government. It's a bit like Richard Nixon going to China. Any Liberal or Tory administration would have enormous difficulty negotiating a social contract.

Cohen doubts that even the most enlightened politicians realize how deep the cuts will have to be. "This isn't about cutting a little here or trimming a little bit there, or getting rid of waste and closing a few overseas consulates," he says. "This has got to get

'We're going to have to lower living standards and that will be difficult and could be very dangerous'

down to the welfare system, though we certainly don't want to see medicine given up." He believes that unemployment is a bogus issue because with all the tax drawbacks that already exist, the system really isn't universal any more. "We'll have to go through a period when we're actually going to have to lower living standards," he warns, "and that will be very difficult and could be very dangerous." Because of the horrendously hazardous political implications involved, Cohen believes the necessary hand cuts will only be possible if there is some external influence to blame. "The truth of the matter is that food banks aside, most Canadians are living pretty well," he maintains. "This is still a very prosperous country. We've had a tough recession, people are frightened, a lot of Canadians are worried about their jobs and their future, but the real dimensions of the debt crisis, which is ruining pretty busy Canadians, are certainly not ready to accept voluntarily the kind of sweeping downsizing that will be required."

The Milken CEO, who spent 15 years at the upper reaches of Canada's public service and probably knows more about how both the public and private sectors work than any-

one else in the country, points out that the limiting factor on social spending is not what governments can provide, but what society can provide. The problem is far more profound than any contradiction between public and private spending, or how much larger taxes can go. The stone-cold truth is that the Canadian economy can no longer afford to carry the burden of the social welfare structure we created in the halcyon days of the postwar boom.

The kind of deep cuts in established social programs Cohen advocates would require stronger measures than are available through budgets. As it is, only about 10 per cent of federal, and provincial, spending is discretionary, with all the rest of the funds that flow out of government transactions accounted for long before they're spent. Massive public hearings and debates might have to be held, confirmed by a national referendum, approving the kind of cost cutting Cohen advocates.

The first phase of such a turnaround in public welfare systems, which would really amount to a cultural revolution, would require most Canadians to agree with Cohen's diagnosis about how desperate the cost of carrying our debt burden has become. "The reason governments don't even dream about reducing deficits and the national debt," he says, "is that most politicians lead the people by staying only a few feet ahead of the pack—and if the troops don't want to support any drastic action, nothing much happens."

He was deputy minister of finance in the fall of 1981 when the Mulroney government first attempted to partially deindex old age pensions, but even that relatively gentle move proved to be unacceptable. (Not only did Grey Power representatives storm Parliament Hill, but the pensioners themselves, Canada's National Seniors, which speaks for the country's largest seniors, also came out against the change.) "That's why I believe the kind of cuts I see as being necessary are less a government's than a social issue," says Cohen. "Governments can only do what people will allow them to do. People forget that. Politicians—the successful ones—don't act in isolation. So, at this particular point in time, I don't see any evidence that the public will exist in the Canadian body politic to do what has to be done."

Having given his gloomy diagnosis, Cohen remains optimistic about Canada's long-term future. "Down the road a piece, I'm reasonably optimistic," says he. "The North American economy, which we're in the process of becoming, unless we do something radical and pull out of the Free Trade Agreement, is very strong and becoming much stronger. There's a huge amount of corporate restructuring going on, and in a couple of years we should start to reap the benefits of having highly productive firms in an efficient economy."

But first we have to survive the debt crisis, and that could change Canada into a very different, much less benign society.

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It was hockey week in Canada. In the centennial year of the Stanley Cup, the nation's two oldest National Hockey League franchises, representing Canada's two biggest cities, squared off against each other in America's two biggest cities for the right to play for the game's premier prize. Across the country, night after night, fans lined up to watch the fabled Montreal Canadiens do battle with the hapless New York Islanders, while the veteran Toronto Maple Leafs took on Wayne Gretzky and the Los Angeles Kings. Many dared to dream the impossible: a Toronto-Montreal final. Maclean's Montreal Bureau Chief Barry Green and Toronto-based Senior Writer D'Arcy Jenish followed the two teams and their fans through the nerve-racking week of semifinal play.

SUNDAY, MAY 16, MONTREAL

Something is not quite right. In Montreal, where hockey's trials and tribunes are hallowed, the Canadiens-Islanders game is about to be played not, as ritual demands, in the evening but—in keeping with the dictates of U.S. network television—in the afternoon. And a glacial pace springs Sunday afternoon at that. The opening line-up is meagre, as well. Home-town hero Mario Lemieux, and his Pittsburgh Penguins, shockingly, have been eliminated by an anonymous gang from the suburbs west of Long Island. Even the Islanders' sole legitimate superstar, Quebec native Pierre Thibault, is not playing, felled by a cheap shot from Dale Hunter in the tongue-mauling of New York's opening-round series with the Washington Capitals. "It couldn't be worse," complains a scalper as he surveys the Stanley strikers outside the Forum. Wearing a bandol of an Israeli kippah, he growls, "If this longer up, they have to give their away."

The players, too, seem discontent as game time approaches. The Islanders did not arrive in Montreal until the early hours of Sunday morning after a grueling seven-game series with Pittsburgh. And the Canadiens, while well-rested following their inconspicuous sweep of Buffalo, appear antsy by the afternoon schedule. His played hockey with that sur-

real game-day routine. "It's been a little hard," says Montreal's centre Rick Muller, "especially if you're a guy who likes to sleep in a lot."

It is the Islanders who seem to be dreading the game badly because they manage only 11 shots against Canadiens goaltender Patrick Roy in the first two periods. Montreal, waging a light defensive battle, is trailing 0 to 40 victory and, with just 67 seconds left, blunderer Ray Ferraro picks up a rebound and sends Roy's ball for a shakout. Afterwards, Islanders coach Al Iuliano is rightly asked "Somewhere between Pittsburgh and Montreal we forgot how to play the game," he says. "Call it a brain deficiency but we weren't in this game from the drop of the puck." But Montreal forward John LeClair cautions, "Wait until the next one on Tuesday—'T'll bet it's gonna be another open of game altogether."

MONDAY, MAY 17, TORONTO

Two hours before the opening thrallid between the Leafs and the Kings, the streets outside Maple Leaf Gardens bristle with excitement. Scalpers line the sidewalks, vendors hawk Leafs and per-

sonas and custom crews broadcast live reports for the 6 o'clock news.

The Leafs are back, making their first appearance in a Stanley Cup semifinal since 1933, and for many fans it feels more like the Second Coming than a mere sports story. The team's success—knocking off division rivals Detroit and St. Louis in two stirring comeback series—has renewed old memories and long-dormant boyhoods. Heightening the anticipation is the fact that Kings captain Gertsky, the tall from Jersey, Braden, that, who grew up to become the Great One, is making his first playoff appearance ever in Toronto.

As the Leafs players arrive, a crowd of autograph-hungry hovers around a rear entrance to the Gardens. Among them is 26-year-old Dale Keith, a Gardens ice cream vendor who says that his grandfather attended the first game ever played there. Keith insists that

Maple Leafs scrambling in front of the Kings not during Game 2, for opening fans, Toronto's first appearance in a Stanley Cup semifinal since 1933 feels more like the Second Coming than a mere sports story

St. Catherine Street. A while Porsche pulls discreetly in a lot beside the park. The driver, a young man with a blond pompadour, leans out the window and casually consults on his car phone before dialing a purchase. "Three hundred bucks for a pair of good seats," the beaming scalper reports. The box office price for the same seats is \$120.

But all seats have been sold out for weeks. The only legitimate way into the Forum is around the corner on Avenue Sherbrooke, where a cus-

tom watching the Leafs this season he has felt the steady presence of great players and names from the team's past. "There are certain sections of the Gardens that give me strange feelings," he says. "It makes me think that people like Foster Hewitt and Tim Horton are still in there."

Marty Curtis, a 26-year-old red estate agent moonlighting as a vendor, hawks "Get her a leaf" as a message in a wallet by way of his girlfriend. "It's only a dollar." The boyfriend duly hands over \$2 and Curtis stamps the couple leaves on their cheeks with a washable, water-based paint.

For all the passionate hope, the Leafs and Kings play tight and at times tedious hockey through two periods. Neither Gretzky nor Toronto star Doug Gilmour can exert control of the contest, though the latter does score the game's first goal. With the teams tied 1-1 midway through the third, Gilmour scores a three-goal outburst that sends the Kings. With each Leaf goal, 54-year-old author George St. Denis and his partner, 26-year-old Joe De Costa, who are stationed in the red section just above the Kings' goal, leap high and enthusiastically punch the air and embrace. "These Leafs are unstoppable," De Costa bellows. "They're the hardest-working team on ice."

With less than three minutes to go, the Kings' 225-pound defenseman Marty McInelly alone into the Leafs' 366-pound Gilmour at the blue line and leaders team with a raised elbow that splits a necker between the opposing players. Moments a scrawling match between Leafs coach Tim Barron and Kings coach Barry Melrose and leaves the ice littered with debris—including a solitary crutch. At a postgame press conference, a still seething Barron says that if the Leafs had done that to Gretzky, "We would have been happy on Parliament Hill, and right across Canada."

TUESDAY, MAY 18, MONTREAL

The Canadians are loose and buoyant during a light cakewalk workout at the Forum, bantling with confidence, albeit their own opening game victory. In the dressing rooms, the conversation turns to the previous night's game between the Leafs and the Kings, in particular Gilmour's painful encounter with McInelly's elbow. While no Canadian wants to be quoted, there is general agreement that the Leafs' victory over the Bruins was a "real come-back—conceded." "It was a borderline let," argues one coach. "It's more painful if anything"—not a mine and a game misadventure.

Outside the Forum, shirt-sleeved crowds gather in the main plaza on the other side of St. Catherine Street. A while Porsche pulls discreetly in a lot beside the park. The driver, a young man with a blond pompadour, leans out the window and casually consults on his car phone before dialing a purchase. "Three hundred bucks for a pair of good seats," the beaming scalper reports. The box office price for the same seats is \$120.

But all seats have been sold out for weeks. The only legitimate way into the Forum is around the corner on Avenue Sherbrooke, where a cus-



ple of hundred dollars from each patron in line to pay \$15 each, on a first-come-first-served basis, for standard seats. "I've been here all afternoon," says Paul Langston, an 18-year-old senior studying psychology at suburban LaSalle, cheerfully admitting that he cut classes to ensure a place near the front of the line for himself and his buddy, Donald Pollock.

"Then did it for me last time," he adds. "I remember when, like him, sports and Canadiens baseball hat, turned backwoods. 'We'd do anything to watch the Blues. They're going to murder New York.'"

As it happens, the Canadiens do manage a 4-3 win over the Islanders. But it is not easy. Islanders star Targem scores the Blues' first goal and nearly has done to victory. It takes



ing room section 558 a direct hit on the Kings goal twice at the referee and toward the goal as they show their backsides. In Doug Dyck spots Gortley alone at center ice with the puck on his stick. "Oh-oh, this is dangerous," warns Dyck. Sure enough, Gortley hits winger Tobias Sandstrom with a perfect cross-ice pass—and Sandstrom snags a wrist shot past net minder Felix Potvin for what proves to be the winning goal.

Scorpius, he is joined by overcoat dress and fan to dash for the front door—a street vendor and a ticket scalper running interference. "It's a mad scene like this every night," says vendor Dave Robertson. "He has no peace whatsoever."

**THURSDAY, MAY 20,
UNIONDALE, N.Y.**

Home for the New York Islanders is the

Nassau County Veterans' Memorial Coliseum, a huge relic of insulated concrete rising from a parking lot amid the vast, flat-tan suburban of Long Island. It sits on the east of Manhattan by train and a long way from the all-consuming hockey fever of Montreal. Hockey can be a hard sell on Long Island, especially if, as happened with the Islanders in recent years, the team plays poorly. "The place was almost empty on a lot of nights," recalls Islanders coach Al Arbour. "It was like playing in a cage."

The cover is jarring on this particular night, however. The Isotopes' Scorpius, a Division II band in corded-striped vests, is vigorously at work just inside the Coliseum's main entrance. Most of the fans wear the Islanders' blue and orange colors. And by game time

they are roaring, buoyed by banners calling on the New York team to "Eliminate the Habitat" and demanding "Let Them Eat Puck." The fans have the Canadian national anthem and lustily cheer *The Star Spangled Banner*.

Early in the second period, Targem elicits an even "hacker check" when, taking a pretty pass from winger Igin LaFrampe, he breaks a shot at between the legs of Montreal net minder Ray Sheppard and into the net. But late in the third period, Montreal's Dampierre hits a shot over goalie Hecley to send the game into overtime.

Targem nearly saves the day for the Islanders just after a minute into sudden death. The bag centre from Wings in northern Canada, hec breaks in a shot on Ray—but reflects his shot just inches over the net. Twelve min



Montreal net minder Ray Sheppard (above) saves Targem's (below) wrist shot. Targem celebrates at Montreal (top right); the last step to the Cup

**WEDNESDAY,
MAY 19, TORONTO**

At Interstar SkyDome, light-years from ancient High Leaf Gardens, 17,000 fans have turned out to watch the sold-out hockey game free of charge on the stadium's jumboTron, the huge TV screen that normally carries replays and advertisements during Blue Jay and Maple Leafs games. The young Dene-dwellers have come equipped with whistles, air horns and flash cards, but in mention strong lungs and a hearty double for the Kings' McSorley. "I wanted to tell him after the first game," says 14-year-old Rhonda McIntosh of Oakville, Ont. "What he did to Doug Gilmour was awful."

On the Gardens' ice, Gilmour extracts a speedy revenge, scoring barely 25 minutes into the game with an assist from forward Nikolai Bonchnevich. But as the game goes on, the last star seems distracted and is frequently penalized for clashing with assorted Kings. Two lacrosse periods leave the season tied 2-2. The great questions in the third, however, and last in the study situat-

A half hour after the game, a firefully show and sharply dressed Gortley appears for a press conference in a congested passageway outside the Kings' dressing room. He deals with the questions as quickly and deftly as he handles the puck, then waits in a crowd of well-wishers that includes his parents, Phyllis and Walter, his brother Glen—and former figure skating champion

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Holly Miller

For me it goes back to when I was a kid. I've always been close friends with animals. Because we always had animals.

My horse, Andy, was my soulmate and confidant. I think the reason that

obsession and my whole life for those years before I got into music. I guess you can say I watched obsessions.

Now he lives happily on an island off the coast of Nova Scotia with a couple

How I See Obsession.

girls latch on to horses so much is because when you're a kid, you're powerless. And when you're a kid and a girl, you're even more powerless. So you feel empowered when you have a horse because it's this big animal you have control over. And no one else has more control over it because it's your horse and it knows you. Even my parents were afraid of him.

I don't have him anymore. I rode and jumped competitively from age 10 to 17 in Nova Scotia. He was my absolute

of true Maritime eccentrics. They live in a castle they built themselves and every year they build more onto it. They're the only ones on the island, except for their 32 cats - and Andy.

The incredible thing about animals is that they don't judge you in the same way people do. They don't care about your failures and successes. It's pure, unconditional love.

I've always felt that you should just let animals go. Not give them too many rules. You know, just like people.

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CHRISTOPHER E. FRYER AND JEFFREY M. LITWIN

was later, Montreal captain Guy Carbonneau scores on a wrist shot from the slot to give the Canadiens a 2-1 victory, a commanding 2-0 lead in the series and a record-tying 11 straight wins in the Stanley Cup playoffs—seven of them in overtime. After the game, Arbour is called by a couple of questioners over these calls by referee Kerry Ruskowski like the refs want to see," he sniffs. Barring a mix of the spots in the final at St. Montreal.

FRIDAY, MAY 21.
HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

In La La Land, where appearance is every thing, fans follow up coach Melrose's Game 2 suggestion that his Torino counterpart is overweight by sending 18 dozen doughnuts to Marco's Santa Monica hotel room. The lead coach, however, turns the insult into a public relations coup by handing out his sugary bounty to the home fans at a nearby bar.

Better late is served at the Great Western Forum as the prime-time home of Kings owner Bruce McNabb, who, after a long wait, shares a program deal with 60 of its closest friends. The eclectic crowd includes NFL coach-minister Gary Bertan, chairman George C. Shultz, ex-Michael Turner (who wears an Anaheim Mighty Ducks cap), basketball player A.C. Green, golfer Greg Sauter and even the Mad City Mayor and his wife. "We want to have to drag people out to the arena," says the 46-year-old McNabb, who's former size of the TV series *Greatest Hits*. "We've had a decent crowd here since Gary got here in 1988, so fortunately the team has gotten well now. It's been lucky; it's been great."



In fact, this year the Kings have advanced further in the Stanley Cup playoffs than ever before. They play before sellout crowds and dominate the radio talk shows and the sports pages—thanks in part to the clinical play of benchwarmer Dougie Smith and the absence of hockeyball's Lakers and Clippers from the NBA playoffs. "This is great," screams 38-year-old Colin Hooten after one of the Kings' goals. "I've been waiting for this for 30 years. It's an amazing, I cried when they got by Vancouver."



Western Forum suits the speedy, slicker-than-greased Kings, while the blue-collar Leafs look a lot slower. With a 4-2 win, Los Angeles grabs a 2-1 series lead and the momentum. "I said last year that I thought they could win a Stanley Cup," says actor James Woods outside the Kings' locker room. "And it looks like they're going to." But in his postgame press conference, Gentry stresses that, for now, the Kings are thinking only of Toronto. "I

Barry McKinnis, a long Island trucking executive who calls himself a life-long Islanders supporter. "Look at it this way," he says, naming a beer "We blew the first game. I'd admit, but the next two we definitely outplayed those French guys. We could easily be up 2-1 now instead of having our backs to the wall." He pauses to take a healthy swig. "The way I see it, the puck has gotta start bouncing our way sooner or later, especially if the refs give us a chance for a chance."

Among Islanders fans, the officiating remains a bone of contention, echoing coach Arthur's complaint that the referees favor the Crusaders. Despite the possibility of a league-imposed fine, Arthur refuses to back down. "I've made a statement and I'll stand with it," he insists as his team prepares to take to the ice. "The worthy ally, however, 'You know coaches sometimes have a touch of Alzheimer's disease. I really can't remember what I said.'"

The game remains scoreless through the first period. But at the second, Montreal's Paul Dubé seeks out from behind the goal, snags a rebound and stuffs the puck into the net. Seven minutes later, the Islanders' Steve Thomas, shooting from a sharp angle, slips one past Ray to tie the score and revive the delirious Islanders fans. And the tide is again flipped in the third period, goals by Iowa captain Patrick Hatley and winger Doug Vadek give the New Yorkers a two-goal lead. "We will be satisfied, yes," says coach Chas, and winger Bonger bluffs those who talk, waving his an empty net to complete a 4-1 victory.

By reviving some of the playoff magic that they displayed against the Penguins, the Islanders break off the Nicks' winning streak, avert the sweep and live to play again. For the Canadiens, the pursuit of that elusive spot in the Stanley Cup final will have to wait for another hockey week in Canada.



Gritty Gilmore checking Gretzky in Game 2 (above); Montreal locket holders dashing for their seats (top left); the return of the blue maple leaf to the playoffs (top right); the unapologetic All-Canadian driver

grad was up 3-1 against Toronto, and St. Louis was up 2-1," he says. "Right now, those teams are watching the playoffs on television."

SATURDAY, MAY 22,
UNIONDALE, N.Y.

In the Arena Bar, a few steps from the ocean surface at Nansau Coliseum, the mood is more laid-back and down-to-earth. It is an hour before

Who Cares?

Several times in the past nine years, the federal Tories have promised a national day care program—and reneged. With an election due this fall, national day care is dead.



For several years, a fierce debate has raged across the country over the emotional issue of caring for children. On the one hand, proponents argue strenuously that the federal government should spend millions of dollars for day care and in-home services to help hardpressed working parents. On the other hand, opponents insist that parents, not strangers, should look after young children and that if the parents need to hire help, then taxpayers should not have to pay the bill. Caught in the middle are the major political parties, all of which, at one time or another, have supported a national day care program, which would cost anywhere from \$4 to \$22 billion. Now, headed into a fall election amid hard times and a budget deficit, the main contenders have backed off and the prospects for day care have all but vanished, said Mary Clancy, federal Liberal party critic on the status of women. "The national child care program is dead as a doornail."

Several times in its six-year tenure, the Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government promised Canadians a national day care policy that would dramatically increase funding for day care centres. And twice it has reneged, most recently in February, 1992, when Health Minister Dennis Blaisard announced that helping children suffering from physical or psychological problems should come before national day care. At the same time, Blaisard said the federal government currently spends more than \$1 billion a year on the nation's child care system. The Tories have blamed the deficit for their decision to shelve the day care program, and so far appear to have escaped serious damage as a result. In fact, both party and private polls indicate that several issues, including the deficit, are more important among those surveyed than day care. Yet resentment among day care supporters is growing as the election approaches. "They will promise they are going to put this on the back burner," said Lorraine Alexander, a 30-year-old Ottawa single mother who once quit her job as a credit and collections analyst because she could not afford childminding day care. "Well, I have now got three—there are our children and this is our future."

But the hostility of working parents pales beside the growing concern that increasingly rising deficits have implicated in governments, both federal and provincial. Alberta Tories led by John Stelmach, chairman of the party's advisory or consultative council, said that "we had the message from [Finance Minister Donald Munson] that we just cannot afford child care." Munson's role is not alone. The front-runner in the race for the federal Tory leadership, Defence Minister Kim Campbell, has said that she would have to study the country's ability resources before proposing any new programs. Her chief rival, Environment Minister Jean Charest, says that the country is already spending too much, and Liberal leader Jean Chrétien has refused to spell out his position.

However, some critics, including Sandra Sorenson, executive director of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives in Ottawa, a research institute, say that governments have exaggerated the seriousness of deficits—so they can back out of commitments in social policy. Like many social activists—and in polls show, most Canadians—Sorenson would rather see Ottawa spend money on child care than on defence weapons. Under particular fire in the July, 1990, decision to buy 50 armoured CH-147 helicopters, expected to cost \$4.4 billion over the next 12 years, said Sorenson. "If we have to choose between helicopters and children, then I vote for children."

But the positions taken by governments may be unworkable. Fully new show that Canadians have lower expectations of new social programs. Said Donna Davies, vice-president of Environics Research Group Ltd. in Toronto: "The public mood has shifted to favour maintaining what we have—health care, education and regional development."

And the government had its own poll results when it made the decision to back away from national day care. Those numbers, the government said, showed that Canadians were more worried about so-called children at risk—those who are undernourished, poorly housed, often neglected and sometimes abused. As a result of its findings, the government last spring ordered a program called "Brighter Futures." Among other things, that program abolished the \$100-million-a-year family allowance program, a 49-year-old backbone of federal social policy. Family allowances, together with the refundable Child Tax Credit and the non-refundable Dependent Child Credit were replaced in January by a single monthly benefit based on family income. Those benefits could amount to \$800 a year for low income working couples and, according to the government, increase federal aid to families by more than \$8 billion over the next five years. In addition, the Conservatives created a \$350-million fund over five years (which has since been reduced by about \$80 million as part of overall cost-cutting) for a host of services and programs for children under seven. "It is not this is not child care," said Brian Wilson, director general of child, and Welfare Canada's children's bureau, "but it is money going into the community to children in need."

Meanwhile, Jean Charest's federal Liberals have spent less on the Conservative. While abandoning the Brighter Futures program as "very small," critics Clancy added that the Tories have done "nothing, yes, not one thing" for day care. As for her own party's plans, she was noncommittal. Said Clancy: "There is a significant move but it is part of our platform and you are going to have to wait." Working parents know all about waiting, in their quest for help with the kids they have been doing that for years.

NANCY WOOD with GLEN ALLEN and LUCIE FISHER in Ottawa

Kids, careers and the day care debate

About three million children need supervision

The steady increase in the 1990s of the number of single parents and marriages where both partners work has created a deepening conflict with traditional ideas about who should take care of children. The dilemma is greatest for single mothers who must cope with responsibilities—and bills—often shared with someone else. Some European countries—chiefly Belgium, France and Sweden—endorse the principle that child care is at least partly a community responsibility. But in Canada, a southern and widespread attitude persists that if people have children, they should stay home and look after them. "We have politicians on either support" for young families," said sociologist Robert Gossop of Ontario's Youth Institute of the Family. "We have at a sense of parental responsibility just like we have parental care."

As a result, tens of thousands of Canadian parents are wrestling with the cost, availability and quality of day care. Many single mothers who want to work are forced to stay home and rely on welfare either because they cannot afford day care or because none is available. Many married couples pursuing separate careers while raising young families want to match the quality for day care subsidies—but not enough to pay day care fees. Ramped against them are the realities facing all governments—high costs and weak opposition to increased government spending.

For more than 20 years, a succession of federal governments, Liberal and Progressive Conservative, have proclaimed the need for some kind of national child care program, but none has ever existed alone. That has thrown the burden largely onto the provinces, which in 1997 received \$275 million under the Canada Assistance Plan for child care, and the municipalities, whose tax revenues are already stretched thin by legions of welfare claimants. Complicating the debate is a simmering battle over what is best for families: a system that rewards stay-at-home parents or government-subsidized day care centers.

The need for help with children has given rise to yet another problem: an increasing number of illegal non-profit centers, particularly from immigrant families, the Philippines and the Caribbean, who stay in Canada after their visas' mass expire. They disappear

into the underground labor market and find jobs through friends or by answering ads on per-basis for child care help.

Although available statistics on the demand for government-sponsored day care are not available, there is little doubt that there are far fewer affordable spaces than are needed. In 2001, there were 31 million children with mothers in the labor force, more than double the 14 million in 1974. According to the Canadian National Child Care Study, a \$3-million project sponsored by Health and Welfare Canada that based its findings on a 1988 survey, there were then 2.7 million children with working parents who needed some child care at least once a week. Yet in 2001 there were only 253,000 regulated day care spaces available, including spaces in private homes.

Some economists have estimated that a national day care program would cost between \$4 billion and \$20 billion annually, depending on such factors as availability and the level of subsidies that will give parents the feeling of being costs and other opposition to increased government spending. Many day care experts say there is little hope for a federally funded program within the next decade—said Sylvia Fagan, executive director of the Canadian Child Day Care Foundation, an Ottawa-based information and support service. "There is a feeling of despair among parents who need day care."

In the same time, Canada's existing spaces, day care subsidies claim, is in decline. Starting in 1991, the number of day care spaces in Canada grew every year by 10 to 16 per cent. But in 1990, the annual rate of increase was only 7.1 per cent, and in 1991 a 4.0 to 29 per cent, the lowest increase since 1978. In recent years, the federal government capped payments to the Canada Assistance Plan to subsidize "basic" provinces—British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario—leaving some day care centers in those provinces to either close or reduce their spaces. In Ontario alone 73 day care centers closed over the past two years



Drop-off time at a day care centre: a feeling of despair

In March, Manitoba lost the number of subsidized day care spaces at 9,800, down from 10,000 the previous year—the first-ever cut in subsidized spaces in that province. Meanwhile, stagnant incomes and rising fees at day care centres are forcing day parents to either wait months for a subsidized space or search for cheaper alternatives, including unregulated neighborhood babysitters. In Ontario, there are 25,000 children waiting for subsidized space, even while an estimated 12,000 to 14,000 full-time spaces, where costs typically average between \$200 and \$800 a month, remain unfilled.

For many parents the structure of Canada's day care system, with its sharp divisions between middle- and low-income earners, discourages investment. Laurence Alexander, 23, of Ottawa waited two days before the birth of her son, Andrew. As a single mother earning \$26,000 a year, she considered for subsidized care. But when she tried to return to work, she was told the wait would still be several months. Determined to return to her job as a credit and collections analyst, she looked into the cost of unsubsidized care: \$125 a week. Unable to pay that fee, Alexander desperately ran her job and went on welfare. Ten months later, when a subsidized spot opened up, Alexander could find only low-paying work. Discouraged, she returned to school to upgrade her skills. Now, because her income is limited to family benefits, her day care costs only \$12 a month. But once she returns to work, a well-run nursery for Alexander, the system seems to punish those who want to work. "I just cannot understand a government that would want somebody with ambition and drive to become a vegetable," she said. "Why are they not supporting people like myself?"

As pressure on the day care system increases, many day care workers are beginning to lose heart. With wages that average about \$12,500 a year, turnover is a chronic problem for the industry. "The low wages, workers claim, add stress to a career that often ends in burnout," noted Patricia Kozak, a day care worker at the 1975 Child Care Centre in Saskatoon. "I really believe as it is, but I take home less than \$1,000 a month and I don't know how much longer I can last. A four-year-old expects me, but society doesn't see the value of my job."

But many parents do. Mary Henry was recently laid off from her job at a fabric company but decided to leave her two-year-old son, Ross, in a crèche part time at the West Point Grey United Therapeutic Day Care Society in Vancouver. Henry said that her son enjoys the centre and having him accepted there was an enormous relief. The centre, which has a total of 12 spaces, has a waiting list of about 100 children. The cost for day care is \$100 a month. "We were desperate before they called us," said Henry. "I can't imagine what people do who can't find a place."

Despite such confidence in the day care system, there is disagreement about what kind of care is best for young children. Many agree with Henry that good day care is worth sacrificing for. But the critics are vocal. Some social scientists argue that children from birth to age 3 should be looked after by the same person. In group care, those experts say, some children risk some damage to their emotional development, including the inability to get close to others. According to an expert, group care almost always damages children under 3. Dr. Stuart Berkley, a Montreal, Que., psychiatrist and author of the quarterly magazine *Empanache*, pointing out that shared care can have a severe impact on a young child's emotional development. In many day care centres, the roles of workers to children varies from three or four children to one worker to one child, up to 10 to one for preschoolers. While some argue that the better working conditions would cost much and disprove that any way to broadly personally development require the loving attention of a parent, possibly a parent and age

"Child care is basic; it is the vehicle that will allow low-income people to get out of the poverty trap. Without it, that just isn't going to happen."

—Dean Black, federal NDP child care critic



3. Children who do not get such care, he said, can develop some of the traits of psychopaths, including aggressiveness and indifference to the needs of others. "We should reward mothers for nurturing their kids under age 3," Barker said. "For children under 3, he added, day care will never work."

Like Barker, other groups in Canada advocate more support for stay-at-home parents. Nilda Pines, a Calgary-based parent group with 3,000 members across the province, advocates more support for the traditional family as does REAM Women, an Ottawa-based organization that represents more than 50,000 women. Nilda Pines' president Ursula Kline, a full-time school teacher, is the mother of two teenage children. She worked part time until her children started school and then stayed home for six years. Kline says publicly funded day care encourages parents to work, instead of doing what is best for their children by staying home. "Subsidies for day care devalue the choice of stay-at-home parents," she said.

Kate Pines has work support for his three-year-old son, the group's president. Last year, the group persuaded the Alberta government to reduce monthly subsidies for individual day care spaces to \$20 from \$225, partly on the basis that day care subsidies are unfair to stay-at-home parents. Kate Pines has also succeeded a court challenge against the child care expense deduction of no more than \$4,000 per child, arguing that it discriminates against parents who stay at home.

Instead of such deductions, Kline, Nilda Pines, REAM Women and Gertie Landolt, who led the fight for credit, should be given directly to parents, instead of using tax dollars to fund a national day care system. Grants to families would encourage children to stay home. Landolt claims "the impetus for a publicly funded national day care system comes from radical feminists who believe anybody can look after a child," said Landolt. "And that's not true."

But Alex Prince, a co-director of the National Child Care Study and a professor at the School of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria, maintains that such assertions do more harm than good because they ignore a reality that is not going to change. "We don't have the option of having more at home because the job just isn't there any more," he said. "The irresponsible thing is to leave children in situations where they are receiving low-quality care." Prince also said that children who are in day care are not disadvantaged by child care as long as it is high

quality and that disadvantaged children in particular benefit from on-site day care. As well, he said, confusion over the effects of day care has impeded the development of a quality day care system in Canada. "Many European countries have comprehensive day care systems and they are not producing a generation of psychopaths," added Prince.

One thing is clear there will be no return to the days when a sole parent, usually the mother, cared for children fulltime while the father worked. Neil Duvall Lewis, project director of the National Child Care Study and associate professor of family studies at the University of Guelph, "There is no turning back the clock. Women are in the workforce to stay." In fact according to Statistics Canada, in 1995, 61.4 per cent of women with children still at home were employed, compared with 45 per cent in 1981. And while many women have entered the workforce in pursuit of a satisfying career, day care work to help support their families. Noted Robert Glassco, director of programs and research at Vimerc: "There has been a dramatic increase in the number of families who are dependent on two incomes just to meet their needs for food and housing."

But doubling female participation in the workforce over the last 20 years has not come without a price. As households and when they are less reliable, men play an increasingly important role in the household. In fact, in many households, men are doing double duty, as housekeepers and mothers as well as employees," said Dr. Susan Bradley, chair of psychology at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. "Women get angry when husbands don't help and men, in turn, feel threatened."

The resulting conflict arises in families at all income levels, Bradley said, but is frequently worse in families that cannot afford good child care and other household support. "It just kind of piles up," she said. With day care either out of reach or unaffordable, many Canadian families are scrambling for alternate ways to take care of their children while they work. One of the most popular at day care provided is a private home frequently unregulated but usually less expensive. "There's a huge demand for it and it's difficult to increase the quality of such care," Christopher Hodgson, a computer analyst who lives in Vancouver, 50 km west of Halifax, and his wife, Verita, a computer technician, said. But before finding out they liked, they endured some painful experiences. One



Jacques and daughter Nilda at day care birthday party. "How do I do it? I do not know."

writer spanked their son hard enough to bruise him. Another played loud music all day, he drew out the sound of their infant daughter's crying, that Nilda said, and that has two young children, aged 3 and 4, who live with their new father who charges \$225 a week, a full-time day care rate. Said a grateful Hodgson: "Our prayers were answered when we found her."

The trust for immigrants, Nilda said, child care has also led to an unexpected increase in the number of stay-at-home mothers. No one knows how many there are but government officials and immigration lawyers agree that the number of appeals is bound to increase because of a new federal program, introduced last April, which says foreign spouses must have the equivalent of a Grade 12 education, not merely training in child care or first aid and literacy in French or English. Marcel Goss, a Toronto lawyer with one of the largest immigration practices in the country, and few women from the Philippines and the Caribbean, two major sources of foreign spouses, can meet the educational requirements. "If ever there was a change of policy that made sense, this was it," said Goss. "It forced a dramatic increase in the number of appeals."

Meanwhile, many day care centers are adapting to the changing public office after hours. In Vancouver, the River Avenue Community Day Nursery, is allowed to send the needs of parents who don't work a day

of full- and part-time services in a rural area, some of which move from community to community in a linked network. Located near Owen Sound, the South East Grey Community Outreach Program provides services to parents in small towns in a full and part-time basis. It also provides flexible arrangements for parents

with seasonal jobs or working schedules that fluctuate. Initiated by Carol Gott, a graduate of the University of Guelph in early childhood education, Outreach has been providing about 500 families with full- and part-time care since 1982. The program is also used by parents who do not work, providing a reliable break from the pressures of caring for children full time. For example, the fees are \$22 per day, and for infants, \$27 per day. The program is also partly funded by government grants. Jackie Brenner, a stay-at-home mother in the small town of Southampton, has two young children at one of the centers for only a few hours a week. "It called the Grey County Great Parent Break and it really is," said Brenner. "My kids love it and it gives me time to myself. Otherwise, I might have tried."

But for busy families, child care often seems like a patchwork arrangement, dictated by the demands of busy schedules dictated by an era when one spouse, usually the wife, stayed home. Consider Mrs. Louise Goss, who has a long and tiring work with white salt and pedis in one corner of her

"Children thrive on stability and when you take that stability away, then you introduce a risk factor into their lives."



—James Garbarino, president, the Erikson Institute, a child-development research centre in Chicago



ESTIMATED AVERAGE MONTHLY DAY CARE FEES

LICENSED CENTRES (1992)

Region	Infant/Toddler	Preschool
Alberta	\$382	\$348
British Columbia	\$438	\$374
Manitoba	\$520	\$345
New Brunswick	\$370	\$327
Newfoundland	(no licensed centres)	\$340
Northwest Territories	n/a	n/a
Nova Scotia	n/a	n/a
Ontario	\$192	\$158
Prince Edward Island	\$530	\$375
Quebec	\$407	\$382
Saskatchewan	\$418	\$328
Yukon	\$500	\$450

- During the last taxation year, the federal government approved \$300 million worth of child care deductions at income tax time.
- Ottawa reimburses the provinces for half the money they spend on child care. Last year, the federal share was \$275 million.
- Employment and Immigration Canada last year paid \$2.3 billion to parents off work while having babies or completing adoptions.
- Mothers can claim up to \$7,100 per child of their earnings in a yearly maximum of \$425 for 15 weeks for publicly funded care under the employment insurance program. In addition, both mothers and fathers can claim up to 10 weeks of parental leave. All provinces require employers to fund the cost of employees on parental leave, ranging from 24 weeks in Saskatchewan to 52 in Quebec.

"Politics is predicated on the belief that someone is at home cooking supper."

—Federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin



"I went back to work for my own personal needs."

Working at something that gives me job satisfaction makes me a better mother. We need to realize that child care is a social need, not a personal weakness."

—Kathy Friesel, Calgary public relations consultant and mother of two young children.

Morier riding office. It is there for those occasional hours when Jacques's teenage-old daughter, Mia, is not in one of the three day care facilities she attends each week. Most Monday afternoons, she and her daughter leave Montreal and travel to Ottawa for a week at a time. There, in quiet service meals and hotel hospitality, Laro stays at a private mother's preparation for Jacques's work starts early, by packing Mia's lunch. But it also includes packing both their suitcases, dropping the Polynesian dog off at the located and, once in Ottawa, attending evening sessions of Parliament and caucus. Mia is friendly with the House of Commons security guards and enjoys color-matching young people who switch over her while her mother sits in government legislation. The routine can be hectic and tiring for both mother and daughter. Says Jacques: "When is it to do it? Sometimes, I do not know, it is not for me."

The most untold families, however, appear to be those with enough money to make choices without having to wait for a licensed or subsidized day care space or sleep around for a reliable sitter. Valerie Cayle, 38, quit her part-time job as a Vancouver-area schoolteacher after her second child was born three years ago. Cayle and her husband, Corey, 31, own an insurance agency. Although she is sometimes frustrated by the lack of recognition that stay-at-home mothers receive, she says



Winnipeg's River Avenue nursery: day care by night

that she has no regrets. "I'll be able to look back and know that I had the time with my kids," she adds.

On the other hand, Halifax lawyer Barbara Beach, 46, said it never crossed her mind not to work, even after she had two children. Beach, the manager of the legal aid office in Halifax, is married to Felix Carlucci, a judge of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court. Beach said she has total confidence in the babysitter who comes to her house every day and that she wouldn't be happy at home all the time. "Through my work, I have a window on the world that I can share with my children," she said. But the number of Canadian families free to make such choices remains small. According to Laro, that is why a publicly funded, universal child care program is essential. "We need a range of high-quality care options for families to choose from, and not just one size fits all," she said. "Child care becomes a collective responsibility; there will always be a wide gap between families who have the resources to purchase high-quality care, and those who will be forced to get their kids in available low-quality care." As that gap continues to widen, there is at least one point on which adults agree: there are still too few answers to the question of who cares for kids.

PATRICIA CHRISTOLM and DANCY JENSH in Toronto and ANDRIENNE WILHE in Vancouver

Traps for illegal nannies

A young girl grows up under a tight, constant, intense in her childhood, she is treated of freedom and affection in her life. Now, for most kids, the nanny (who is not in Toronto) but her dream has ended. Her visitor's visa expired last February and she works illegally as a nanny, spending 18 hours a day looking after three children between the ages of eight and 18 and her employer's deliciously fondle home. Her employer, a merchant, pays her \$6 an hour, slightly below Ontario's minimum hourly wage of \$6.55. "I would like to do something else," she says, "but I don't have any choice."

Immigration lawyers and women's groups contend that thousands of women from the Caribbean, Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia are working illegally in Canada as nannies—many in constant fear of being discovered and deported. They are not covered by government health insurance plans or protected by labor laws. Some endure sexual abuse and employers sometimes simply withhold wages. "Fear is a very big factor with these women," and lower-class Caribbean of Perle Community Legal Services, a Toronto clinic that frequently represents domestic workers. "Employers can threaten them with deportation so they are under a lot of pressure not to complain about wages or working conditions."

In spite of the risks, illegal domestics advertise for work in newspapers and are frequently hired by parents who cannot find

or attend a legal nanny. Despite who hires a legal foreign nanny must register as an employer with Revenue Canada. Employers must deduct income tax, unemployment insurance premiums and Canada Pension Plan contributions from the nanny's salary and send the money to Ottawa. They must also pay health-care premiums and comply with provincial workers' compensation rules. Still, Thomas Munro, owner of Toronto's "Toronto's placement agency," a nanny working legally costs an employer at least \$1,200 a month, as opposed to \$800 to \$900 a month for someone illegal.

Immigration authorities say that the number of underground nannies will likely increase because of a tough, new federal program that requires alien domestics to work in strict sectors for the year if they hope to become landed immigrants. An Employment and Immigration official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the government also adopted higher educational standards, requiring prospective immigrant nannies to have the equivalent of a Canadian Grade 12 diploma. The reason, most women who work as nannies eventually apply for permanent residence: and look for better jobs. But critics say that putting legal barriers in the path of immigrant domestics will only encourage illegal ones.

For women's groups across the country, defending the rights of legal nannies has taken precedence over the problem facing those who are illegal—if only because the illegal are difficult to catch. But as the young women from Czechoslovakia has discovered, life as an illegal can be frustrating and discouraging. It means long hours, low pay and—most important of all—pulling them out of bed.

DANCY JENSH

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A shared duty

'The need for accessible child care is paramount'



Robert Glascoff, a sociologist, is director of programs and research for the Ottawa-based Tanner Institute of the Family, a nonprofit organization that collects and analyzes information about family issues, including child care. A 45-year-old father of two children, aged 12 and 15, Glascoff spoke with Maclean's Ottawa Bureau Staff Correspondent Glen Allen.

Maclean's: There is a growing debate about who is responsible for child care and day care. Should it be a provider or a public responsibility?

Glascoff: The care and nurturance of the next generation is a shared responsibility. Modern industrialized societies are really the only ones who expect that parents should assume all of the responsibility for bringing up the next generation. Elsewhere, child care has always been a shared responsibility assumed by parents and the community.

Maclean's: But in a modern society who, besides parents themselves, is responsible?

Glascoff: The state, as well as the employers—to the extent that employers have responsibilities not just for their own needs of some of their labor force, but also the family needs in general. Corporations have begun to realize that it is actually good for their bottom line. Employers have realized that they cannot, as they did in the 1950s, assume that their employees will be automatically and informally supported by some of a neighborhood wife.

Maclean's: Is massive intervention by the state, in the form of universal day care, possible in the economic setting of the 1990s?

Glascoff: It's not impossible. Other countries that face the same kind of 6-month squeeze and restraint in Canada have provided for more effective and comprehensive ways of supporting parents who are in the labor force—and parents who are not. In terms of child care, if you take the population of children between the ages of 3 and 5 who are in licensed care, Canada has about 30 per cent. In countries like Belgium, France and Sweden, you have 90 to 95 per cent of those children in licensed care. That figure is approximately 44 per cent in Britain, which has a relatively similar history of social policy in Canada's. It's not only a question of Can we afford it? The Canadian economy has

a vested interest in women's labor force participation. Women are paying with in excess of \$16 billion a year in income taxes. There is an obligation on the part of that economy to help. **Maclean's:** But the government is not disposed to provide a national day care program. Are there other possible strategies?

Glascoff: I think that what parents need is a set of options. Many new parents would like to be able to stay out of the labor market for more than a few weeks while their children are young. Maybe we should begin to look at parental leave policies similar to those in some European countries, where you may have a year or even two years with a combination of paid and unpaid leave and certain ac-

cessories in terms of mitigating what their educational outcomes and achievements are going to be. And a child who has developed appropriate social skills becomes an able citizen and may avoid the onset of various kinds of emotional and psychological problems. So it's important to invest in kids. And the more we tend going to us every. The need to provide families with dependent children on adequate, accessible, affordable and high-quality child-care system is paramount.

Maclean's: Is there a shortage of day care space?

Glascoff: It is a major problem. There is definitely a profound shortage and the consequence of that is that parents are forced to scurry around and juggling a whole variety of different kinds of arrangements. There then are a tremendous number of women in the labor market who are not working standard shifts. There's a question of 'Where do they go?' The structure of the labor force has changed dramatically and yet the kind of child care available seldom meets their needs. **Maclean's:** Is it a problem in Canada for a middle-class couple to bring up young children?

Glascoff: If you get me on a bad day, I would say that the situation is quite tragic. I think



Sociologist Glascoff: 'we have withdrawn our support for families with young children'

business about returning to your job. That is one option. Also, it is necessary to encourage those people who are providing the majority of child care today, the wrap-around home settings, to come up from underground and to take advantage of some of the supports that can be made available to them.

Maclean's: What are the social and economic costs that you suggest may result from inadequate child care?

Glascoff: There's pretty sound evidence that the early years of a child's life are vital

that as a society we have withdrawn our collective support for young families with young dependent children. We have in a sense privatized responsibility just like we have privatized Air Canada and all the other stuff. We have come to adopt the hypothesis that 'Look, you've had the kids, they're your responsibility, you take care of them. It's not my responsibility as a taxpayer.' That is shortsighted because ultimately all of us are going to grow to become dependent upon the next generation.



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CRAZY FOR COLLEEN

Canadian country singer Colleen Peterson has suffered through lean times in recent years, as has one of her idols, superstar Willie Nelson. But both performers' careers now appear to be on the rebound. In Peterson's case, that is largely because of her flake: his re-recording of Crazy, the Nelson song that Petty Clive made famous in 1961. Peterson, 40, has not had a record contract since 1995. But 18 months ago, she recorded Crazy for a compilation album of new versions of 45 hits. Her success, to help Nelson with his \$21-million tax bill. Sony Music Publishing released the 18-song compact disc late last year—but only as a sample to radio stations. Since then, stations in Toronto and Vancouver have been filling requests for Crazy. Said Peterson: "It could be gone tomorrow, but for a feeling moment it's probably worth a listen."

Small choices

After a 16-year struggle to make it to the top of the pop music industry, the members of 100% are heading back to their roots. The seven Australian band, whose hit songs include *Swister Slender* and *New Sensation*, have grown used to playing to large crowds last spring, they rocked 90,000 people at Sydney's Centennial Park. But now, the band is on a 15-date back-to-back tour across North America, playing in small halls and clubs. "We realized you have a choice," lead singer Michael Hutchence explained. "You can play where you want, and you don't have to be shackled to the prerequisites of success—big shows and T-shirts." Known for his knack of being contrary to the ordinary, Hutchence said that although many successful bands left about playing small shows for the last of 100% is doing it. Added the 33-year-old heart-throb: "Most of us in this position tend to forget that we can do anything we want—and we're having a great time doing anything we want for a while."

Hutchence: "anything we want"



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Interpreter and creator

To her beauty and grace, National Ballet dancer Karen Kain can add another accomplishment: endurance. This year marks her 24th season with the company. "I just have a physique that seems able to withstand the rigors of dancing," said Kain, who lives in Toronto. "I also have good trainers, good coaches—and good physiotherapists." At 40, she is still dancing modernism, as she did recently in the Toronto production of *Samuel Beckett's Breathes and Jokes*. Although Kain said that she enjoyed her role in that classical ballet, she added: "The most exciting thing for me is to be part of the creative process, and to be part of new works that are being made right now. That is what motivates me to keep dancing."

One new work this season is *The Miraculous Mandarin*, a stark, sensual narrative that depicts a young man's sexual awakening and escape from his seductive but domineering mother, the role created for Kain by choreographer James Kudatkin. In *Belle Bartlett's* words, Kudatkin, the company's artistic residence, is reluctant to discuss the ballet's autobiographical elements: "They're personal," he said, but he added that addressing such family issues as child abuse is a central concern in his choreography. "If anything, my attitude is to be honest with myself and say what I think," said Kudatkin, 37. "What I really like to do is have the time to go inside something deeply—and maybe make a difference."

FICTION'S PLACE

Canadian author Brian Moore is careful to set his latest novel apart from the ones. "One of the worst things with novels is to have anything that's in the ones," said Moore, "because the central thing about the novel is its disappearance." Still, the main character in *No Other Life*, set among political turmoil in a fictional Caribbean country, resembles Jean-Pierre Armande, the exiled prime minister of Haiti created by Jimmy Harrison as a survivor. "I've never written a novel where there was an actual character in *The New York Times* every day," said Moore. In fact, the author, who lives in Malibu, Calif., went out of his way to apologize repeatedly: he re-treated to Nova Scotia last summer where, he said, "I was living in a house with no newspapers, apart from the *Halifax Chronicle-Wreath*—which isn't too well up on Haiti." According to Moore, the strategy worked. "This is not a story about Armande," he added. "This is a story about what happens when you leave life and enter into legend."



Moore: "This is not a story about Armande"

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CANADA'S PRIVATE NEWSMAGAZINE

FOR THE RECORD

Songs that scorch

*Janet Jackson gets sexy;
two rappers get feisty*

JANET
Janet Jackson
(Virgin/EMI)

On each of her three albums, Janet Jackson has adapted attitudes as freely as dance moves. With her 1986 debut, *Control*, it was a young woman's bold declaration of independence. Then on 1989's *Rhythm Nation 1814*, it became earnest social concern. Each of these albums sold more than eight million copies. Now, Jackson has discovered uncharted seas. The pertinaciously punctuated *Janet* seems to take its sexual cues from Madonna, although there, with its disco beat and moaning, is more reminiscent of Donna Summer's orgasmic 1975 hit, *Love to Love You Baby*. One standout song is the guitar-driven *If*, with its explicit lines "You are the one I'm looking for tonight". Jackson eventually runs out of ideas, and some cuts are little more than romantic stunts. But when the singer is in her new sexual mode, *Janet* is a stimulating escape.

DIMENSIONS IN DOUBLE R & B
MC2 & Cool G
(J&R)

In the competitive world of hip-hop, a rapper must be hard-core or run the risk of getting ahead. In other words, an artist who performs anything but a tough street style is likely to earn the scorn of his peers. Such was the fate of MC2 & Cool G, a Montreal rap duo originally from Blaine, with their 1990 debut, *So Loose!* The album sold 30,000 copies, but several rappers, including Toronto's Master Fresh-Mix, publicly criticised the pair for its crossover pay sound. On their follow-up, *Dimensions in Double R & B*, MC2 (Charles McQuaid) and Cool G (Richard Gray) contrast their critics' lead-on. The track *79* celebrates a long verbal response, while *Make It Pasty* is a musical reply that adds a rhythmic, head-bobbing sound to their style. Indeed, much of the new album benefits from a greater, funkier edge. Hard-core or not, *Dimensions in Double R & B* is potent, perfectly respectable stuff.

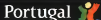
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Wheels within wheels on Yonge

BY KATHERINE GOVIER

Bdue to Work Week in Toronto was locked off last Monday with a blue-back breakfast in Nathan Phillips Square. This proved to me what I have long suspected: What Toronto really wants is to be Calgary.

Calgarians may not like to work. But surely they own the public parking breakfast. But one thing to put on your floorboard drive, your cowboy boots and Stetson hat, and stand in the machine on the 4th Avenue Mall eating pancakes and bacon topped off with chili grills, watching the 4H club do its morning all-around led and do-into. It is quite unclear to dodge items in rush-hour traffic all the way down, Yonge Street to claim some breakfast, which were cooked yesterday, while a comic talks about drug dealers and bicycle thieves.

I'm not sure you can do breakfast with friends. Bikers are lean and mean. Breakfast and every body and are noisy, and their effects show when you wear layers shirts. But that wasn't the only reason the breakfast was bad. First, no Torontonians over the age of 22 and past the first generation of an immigrant will pass time in a public park. Even if you get them out. Torontonians are too afraid to leave their homes at the street at the morning without an organized competition with cars or packs.

The first person who spoke to me when I locked my bike in the square offered me a free therapeutic massage from Sotheby's. What he said was "You look like you need one." He was having trouble finding a restaurant because, he said, most people were too shy to have their shoulders rubbed.

I enjoyed the massage. The five miles downhill from home had been hectic. Actual, going out of the house was the hardest part. There was no such thing as a remember—back, backpack, parking straps, sun-screen (jumper depletion, helmet, sunglasses, shoes with closed toes, bag, reflector, rattle

There's no end to what Torontonians can do when they get rolling—and try to have fun like Calgarians

etc.). Just think if I had really been going to work—I'd need a towel! and a change of clothes, plus my notebook and file folders. Do laptops fit in backpacks or are they like the lap and the back, destined never to meet? And what do you do with the dry cleaning?

I'd done three blocks on Yonge when I started to see bikes. Then they started to what just me down behind. These were the professionals. Coasters, all aware, keep a very subtle between their teeth, and if they're still alive they have good reflexes.

"Oh, I forgot it's like to Work Week," said one casually as we waited at a red light. "There's a couple of hundred at them at Danville. I passed 'em all." He wasn't coming for breakfast, he had lost already.

The closer I got to downtown, the more obstacles appeared in the right hand lane. Stopped cars, with blinkers on. Luggage dangled out a two floor. South of College, a homeless person decided he had to walk into my lane. He was slow and wavery. Three bikes swerved to miss him, everybody swearing. The bus driver yanked into the middle of the road—saw it, walk with the car.

The hopeless were not nearly the lazier in this, however. A lot of number were collected

a free breakfast. At least I thought they were homeless. Sometimes it's hard to tell them from cyclists. Both carry a lot of bags and have muddy clothes. But the cyclists tend to be able-bodied. At least at first.

On the stage, an embarrassed couple disconnected swing dancing. (Dancing? At breakfast? you could hear people think. Then you could hear their double-think. As soon as they do it as Calgary all the time.) It was cold and it felt like rain. Shouting back people, disoriented, locked up and rubbed two punches without benefit of look while staring at the picnic tables. "There are 200 more biking in from the north," announced the hospital nurse. The 200 eventually landed, accompanied by cycling cops, but we still weren't having fun.

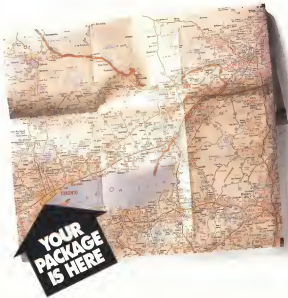
Adding around, I discovered a surprising fact. Most of these people didn't work downtown. They either didn't work at all, or they worked at home, or they worked way out at Lakeshore and Kipling. That day's bike to Work campaign wasn't reducing car traffic. It was just adding bike traffic. The pancake makers supported biking, all right, most were members of a BIC (Bicycle Users Group). The promise of leftovers—or maybe the promise of making a political statement—had lured them onto the streets to breathe the soot of rush hour.

Around 8:30 things did begin up. But the atmosphere was not so much festive as defensive. The course told a joke about how, after you double-lock your bike and take off the front wheel and the seat, you can reach down the frame into its component metals—in order to avoid them. It is a very concerned about bike theft. It's an epidemic in Toronto. Other BIC demands include: safe routes to lock bikes in downtown offices and designated biking routes. BICs also beg employers to install showers. These are all good ideas, but isn't the biggest problem with biking to work in Toronto all those other ways to cars? How do you get rid of those? Wouldn't it defeat the economy?

Now, we're talking Problems Down. In a minute it will be economic downtown, sliding many down to end-of-the-world scenarios. Can you imagine this happening at a Stampede breakfast? That's the problem with Toronto: every idea has to become a political issue. The only thing that turns a Torontonian's crank is a special interest group.

But hey, it's a livable city. Deep down, Toronto never quite trying to break out and go wild. There are many fun events planned all week. The "world's first cheer on bike" is one. Another is one of those contests where you decorate your bike, like we used to when we were kids—only paper shredded between the spokes, paper mounted on the handlebars and streamers. There's no end to what Torontonians can do, when they get rolling. And you know that they were just a whole lot of people standing around in the cold with their past legs tucked into their socks.

Edmonton-born Katherine Govier is the author of "Hours of Plagues."



(And This Ground Carrier Can Tell You)

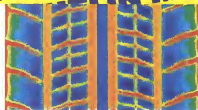
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